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A UN soldier and a woman giving first aid Monday to a dying Bosnian soldier shot in Sarajevo's "Sniper Alley."

Moscow Reveals a Deep Nuclear Secret

By William J. Broad
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — For more than three decades, Russian scientists have disclosed, the Soviet Union and now Russia secretly pumped billions of gallons of atomic waste directly into the earth. They say the practice continues today.

Though the Russians defend the practice as safe, it is at odds with accepted global standards for nuclear waste disposal and is contrary to what they have previously said they were doing.

The disclosure has set off a debate among experts over the likely consequences of the radioactive injections, which some experts say represent a new

kind of nuclear danger that might haunt the planet for centuries.

The Russians told a small group of Western experts that Moscow had injected about half of all the nuclear waste it ever produced into the ground at three widely dispersed sites, all thoroughly wet and all near major rivers.

The accepted rules of disposal require that nuclear waste be isolated in impermeable containers for thousands of years. The Russian scientists claim the practice is safe because the wastes have been injected under layers of shale and clay, which in theory cut them off from the earth's surface.

But already the wastes at one site have leaked beyond the expected range and

"spread a great distance," the Russians told the small group of international scientists who were handpicked to receive the news. The Russians did not say whether the distance was meters or kilometers or whether the poisons had reached the surface.

Decades or centuries might pass before scientists know whether the injections are calamitous or benign.

Some American experts say that in all likelihood things will work out favorably but that close study is prudent.

"Does it have the potential for impacting the environment in Russia and the world?" said Dr. Clyde W. Frank, a top official of the Energy Department. "We're

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Serb Air Base Destroyed In NATO's Biggest Raid

By Roger Cohen
New York Times Service

ZAGREB, Croatia — NATO warplanes bombed a Serbian air base Monday, destroying the runway, missile sites and anti-aircraft defenses in a massive raid that took the Western alliance's involvement in the Bosnian war to a new level.

Admiral Leighton W. Smith, the American commander of NATO forces in Southern Europe, said 39 aircraft from the United States, Britain, France and the Netherlands were involved in the attack against the Serbian-held Udbina airfield in Croatia, 35 kilometers (22 miles) southwest of the Bosnian town of Bihać.

"Our initial reports are that the strike was successful," Admiral Smith said. The French Defense Ministry issued a statement saying that "after neutralization of the ground-to-air defenses, the runway, which was the raid's main objective, was put out of action."

The Udbina air base had been used three times in the last two weeks by the Serbs to send aircraft, some carrying napalm and cluster bombs, against the Bihać area, an isolated pocket in northwestern Bosnia that is held by the Muslim-led government and has been declared a United Nations "safe area."

The NATO bombing was the largest air raid in Europe since the end of World War

II and the biggest mounted by the alliance since it was established in 1949 to counter Soviet military power.

But at the specific request of United Nations military commanders, the raid did not hit Serbian planes at the airfield, a gesture of restraint that caused some misgivings at the Pentagon, U.S. officials said.

"This is a limited strike," Admiral Smith said, noting that the commander of UN forces in the former Yugoslavia, General Bertrand de Lapresle of France, had insisted Serbian aircraft should not be hit. "We clearly could have taken those aircraft had we chosen to but we have a dual United Nations-NATO key."

The Clinton administration's oft-repeated calls for big NATO air strikes against the Serbs, combined with its refusal to put American troops on the ground, have caused persistent tension with British and French officers in the UN peacekeeping force in Bosnia.

All allied planes returned safely to their bases, despite what officials described as initially intense anti-aircraft fire. NATO officials said American F-18 fighter-bombers, F-16 fighter-bombers, F-15 fighters and F-111 bombers had all been used in the raid. They were accompanied by British Jaguar bombers, French Jaguars and Mirages, and Dutch F-16s.

Michael Williams, a spokesman for the UN Protection Force, said that "in a raid of this size there must certainly have been casualties." But there was no immediate estimate of their number.

After four previous pinpoint attacks this year against Serbian ground targets that appeared to achieve little and increasingly irritated the Pentagon by their tentative nature, the raid Monday amounted to a declaration that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization will now act with more resolve and a calculated gamble that the Serbs can be bombed to the negotiating table.

The attack also appeared over, at least temporarily, the sharp differences that have emerged within NATO over the Clinton administration's decision to stop enforcing a UN arms embargo against the

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Bosnians Say Real Target Should Be Ground Force

By Chuck Sudetic
New York Times Service

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Bosnian government leaders and some UN officials here expressed bewilderment Monday that the NATO air strike on an airfield controlled by Bosnian Serbs in Croatia was not broadened to target artillery and tanks supporting Bosnian Serbs' attacks on the Bihać enclave in northwestern Bosnia.

NATO planes bombed an air base held by the Serbs in Udbina, Croatia, on Monday in retaliation for air raids on Friday and Saturday by Serbian fighter jets in and around the Bihać enclave.

Though scarcely significant militarily, the Bosnian Serbs' air attacks were the most dramatic element of a two-week Serbian advance on Bihać because they came despite warnings from UN and NATO officials and violated the UN resolutions that created the Bihać "safe area" as well as a NATO-enforced ban on military flights over Bosnia.

But the really significant Bosnian Serb

military activity has been the ground attacks on the Bihać enclave from Serbian-held lands across the Croatian border. These attacks, also condemned by UN officials here, violate both an international border and a UN "protected area" in Croatia, where the Serbs' heavy weaponry, including tanks, heavy artillery and aircraft, are supposed to be kept under a two-key lock with UN peacekeepers holding one of the keys and the Serbs holding the other.

"None of the problems around Bihać have been resolved by today's air strike," said a UN official, who asked to remain unnamed. "The military assessment is that the attacks on the Bihać enclave will continue."

Haris Silajdzic, Bosnia's prime minister, said that "the airport was a peripheral element" and criticized the United Nations for not taking action to stop Bosnian Serbs from using the UN-protected area in Croatia as a staging area for the Bihać offensive. "This points out

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Kiosk

Aid Is Lacking, Ukraine Tells UN

UNITED NATIONS, New York (Reuters) — President Leonid M. Kuchma of Ukraine complained Monday that his country was not getting the aid it needed from the West, particularly the United States, to help it dispose of nuclear weapons left over from the Soviet Union.

In an address to the UN General Assembly, Mr. Kuchma said Ukraine had acted "in the interests of all mankind" by moving to eliminate the weapons and agreeing to sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. "I regret that I have to say it from the UN rostrum: Such a policy meets no adequate response."

"To date," he said, "Ukraine has not obtained the necessary compensation for tactical nuclear warheads already withdrawn. The assistance is rendered very slowly and on the whole does not meet the fixed terms."

The United States has pledged \$350 million to help cover the costs of cleaning up disused missile silos.

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VICTORY PLEDGE — Yasser Arafat, at a Gaza rally on Monday, signaling his intention to keep power. Page 6.

Should Clinton Run in '96? Party Elders Voice Doubts

By R.W. Apple Jr.
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — It is still only a question, but a politically portentous one, and it is on the lips and in the minds of prominent Democrats across the country: Can Bill Clinton — should Bill Clinton — be the party's presidential nominee in 1996? So sweeping was the Democratic defeat in the Nov. 8 elections, and so deep is the Democratic dejection in its wake, that the president's place at the head of the ticket two years from now is no longer taken for granted.

The odds are strongly in his favor: He is still the president, and he has few obvious challengers. But the doubts are there.

"A year from now, maybe much sooner," said a party elder the other day, "people will take stock. If they see him as the probable cause of another debacle, they'll prevail upon him to call it quits, or they'll run against him."

A well-connected White House aide said, when asked whether Mr. Clinton's staff expected a challenge for the nomination. "The question is not really if, but when and from whom."

Such talk may turn out to be only talk. But for as long as it persists, it further weakens an already wounded president. For the record, the White House ex-

presses confidence that Mr. Clinton can win the nomination. But even the president's advisers concede that he is likely to face at least the kind of distraction that President George Bush endured from Patrick Buchanan two years ago, and perhaps a more serious fight of the kind that Sena-

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tor Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts gave President Jimmy Carter in 1980.

Much depends, of course, on how successfully Mr. Clinton can assess the new political reality, rally his remaining troops, establish priorities and reassert his leadership.

Much depends also on whether the embattled Republicans handle their newly won power on Capitol Hill constructively or self-destructively.

But in politics as in life, self-preservation is the primal instinct, and at the moment many Democrats feel threatened, not protected, by their president. Some of the senior Democrats up for re-election in 1996 must run in states where Mr. Clinton is highly unpopular.

Three of the last four Democratic presidents, excepting only John F. Kennedy, ran into severe trouble, and all three faced

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Japan Apologizes (but Not to U.S.) for Diplomatic Slip on Pearl Harbor

By T.R. Reid
Washington Post Service

TOKYO — Nearly 53 years after the event, Japan's government apologized Monday for failing to break off diplomatic negotiations before launching the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor that pulled the U.S. into World War II.

"There can be no excuse," the Foreign Ministry said, for Japan's delay in delivering a message to Washington on Dec. 7, 1941, that it would negotiate no longer. The official apology was prompted by the routine declassification Monday of a new batch of documents relating to that fateful day.

But the apology for the Japanese diplomats' "deeply regrettable" conduct on Pearl Harbor Day was not addressed to the United States, the victim of the attack. Rather, said a Foreign Ministry spokes-

man, Teruaki Terada, "The statement was directed to the people of Japan."

Why does the government feel a need to apologize to its own people for deceiving another nation half a century ago?

The answer involves the generalized concept of shame in Japanese society, and the particular sense of shame many Japanese feel about the beginning of World War II.

In a country where people are defined by the groups they belong to, anyone who does wrong is perceived to be causing shame for other members of his group — his family, his company, his alma mater, and so forth.

The Japanese have a word for it: *meiwaku*, which can mean the trouble and shame you cause for friends and family if you do wrong. For centuries, the need to avoid *meiwaku* has served as a powerful restraint on bad conduct.

In Japanese history books, the conduct of Japan's diplomats in Washington on the eve of Pearl Harbor is treated as a major source of shame for the entire country. And that is what prompted the Foreign Ministry's belated apology.

The diplomatic question at issue is separate from the propriety of the air raid itself, which killed 2,400 American soldiers and sailors. The Japanese people are still deeply in conflict on that point.

Some argue that a war between Japan and the United States was inevitable, and thus the surprise attack was a legitimate

act of war. Others say it was morally wrong for Japan to start a war no matter what the circumstances.

In 1991, on the 50th anniversary of Pearl Harbor, the prime minister of Japan issued an apology, of sorts, to the United States for the attack, expressing "deep remorse" that it inflicted an unbearable blow on the people of America and the Asian countries.

But last year, politicians in Japan canceled a scheduled visit by Emperor Akihito to the Pearl Harbor memorial. Officials

explained that Americans would expect an apology if the emperor went to Pearl Harbor, and that this might cause political problems at home.

No matter how people feel about the raid, however, there is a strong sense of shame in Japan about its diplomacy in the last weekend before the attack.

In the fall of 1941, the U.S. and Japan tried one last round of talks to resolve their dispute over Japanese aggression against China. While the talks were going on, a

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Sexes Take a Shine to Coed Boot Camp

By Bradley Graham
Washington Post Service

FORT LEONARD WOOD, Missouri — When they entered basic training at this army base eight weeks ago, Private James Lane and Private Teri Rutter were unsettled to learn they would be doing their sweating, grunting and gritting in mixed company.

Mr. Lane, 22, worried that the women would be a drag on things, or worse, might even outperform him, or perhaps inhibit the development of male camaraderie. Ms. Rutter, 18, feared that the men would

laugh at her mistakes, set too challenging a pace and generally make life miserable for her and the other women.

Sitting in their coed barracks one day last week, cleaning gear after a three-day field exercise, both said that their initial misgivings had given way as male and female trainees began helping each other.

In fact, officers here said, preliminary results of the recent shift to what the army calls gender integrated basic training show little change in the performance of men but giant strides in the morale and performance of women, who feel more motivated

when challenged to keep up with the opposite sex.

The army leadership is counting on this to be the general rule. On Tuesday, when the 178 trainees of Alpha Company, 6th Battalion, 10th Infantry Regiment graduated here, they will become the first group to make it through coed basic training since the service decided this summer to do away with all-male and all-female training for the numerous noncombat jobs now open to both sexes.

"As we did more things, we just pulled

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Local Voters Put Berlusconi On Defensive

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ROME — Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's political movement suffered a major setback in local elections in Italy while his "post-Fascist" political allies made a strong showing, results indicated Monday.

With two thirds of the votes from major centers in the elections Sunday counted, support for Mr. Berlusconi's Forza Italia party had collapsed to under 10 percent. The party won more than 30 percent of the vote in European elections in June and 21 percent of the vote in the legislative elections that brought Mr. Berlusconi to power last spring.

Partial returns from the voting showed the Democratic Party of the Left, the former Communists, getting the biggest share of the overall vote, around 14 percent.

The rightist National Alliance, which grew out of a neo-Fascist party

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Newsstand Prices

Bahrain	0.800 Dln	Malta	35 c.
Cyprus	0.800 Dln	Nigeria	110.00 Naira
Denmark	14.00 D.Kr.	Norway	15 N.Kr.
Finland	11 F.M.	Oman	1,000 Rials
Gibraltar	0.800 Dln	Qatar	8.00 Rials
Great Britain	0.800 Dln	Saudi Arabia	9.00 R.
Egypt	0.800 Dln	South Africa	0.800 R.
Jordan	0.800 Dln	U.A.E.	8.50 Dirh
Kenya	0.800 Dln	U.S. Mil.	(Eur.) \$1.10
Kuwait	0.800 Dln	Zimbabwe	21m. \$20.00

Dow Jones

Down	45.75	Tribe Index	Down	0.50%
3789.51		113.18		
The Dollar				
Mon. close	previous close			
Dm	1.5565	1.5563		
Pound	1.5679	1.566		
Yen	98.30	98.58		
FF	5.3385	5.341		

THE AMERICAS / DEFENDING THE STATES

Governors Cool to Congress Republicans Keep Distance From Gingrich

By Richard L. Berke

New York Times Service

WILLIAMSBURG, Virginia — Buoyed by their biggest victory in 25 years, the nation's Republican governors and congressmen-elect are seeking to put some distance between themselves and the Republicans who will control Congress.

At the annual conference of the Republican Governors Association, they urged the new congressional leaders not to be distracted by social issues like school prayer and warned that they did not want the federal budget to be cut at the expense of the states.

Several of those attending the conference brushed aside two centerpiece issues of Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, the probable House speaker: his proposals for an overhaul of welfare and for a constitutional amendment to allow prayer in schools.

They took care not to directly attack Mr. Gingrich and some even embraced his call for a balanced budget amendment, but only on the condition that such an amendment would include language barring the federal government from passing on the increased financial burden to the states.

But at least 20 of the governors and congressmen-to-be crowded the podium at a news conference Sunday night asserting their independence from Washington, even if that meant keeping distance from the new Republican leaders.

"We're balancing budgets, we're reforming welfare, we're fixing health care, we're dealing with crime," said Governor Mike Leavitt of

Utah, the new president of the Republican Governors Association, which now has 30 members. "Our message will be to congressional leaders, people of this country: Give us the ball and get out of the way. We can solve these problems."

Echoing his colleagues who argued that Republicans should emphasize economic stability rather than social issues like school prayer, Governor John Engler of Michigan said,

'Give us the ball and get out of the way. We can solve these problems.'

—Mike Leavitt, Utah governor

gans said, "If we don't deal with the economic issues, we'll need more than prayer to solve our problems."

The news conference vividly demonstrated the governors' political importance. Not since 1968 have Republicans controlled so many governors' offices. Republicans became governors in eight of the nation's nine most populous states, states that have the most electoral votes and will be crucial in the 1996 presidential elections. The only big state that rebuffed the Republicans was Florida, where Governor Lawton Chiles withstood a challenge from Jeb Bush.

Several governors, however, insisted that they could work well with the new Republican leaders in Congress. In an initial effort at keeping smooth relations, Governor

Tommy G. Thompson of Wisconsin and some colleagues met earlier Sunday with Senator Bob Dole, Republican of Kansas, and other senators.

"They're eager to cooperate with us," Mr. Thompson said. "And that is such a change of philosophy and common courtesy that we've been asking for so long."

But the comments of the governors amounted to a preview of the possible intra-party fissures among members of Congress and the governors. Many of the Republican governors said the midterm elections were a referendum on their successes at cutting taxes and bringing other innovations to states, not simply a reflection of approval of Mr. Gingrich and his "Contract With America," a list of 10 tax-cutting and budget-balancing proposals by Republican candidates for House.

The governors also were adamant that they did not want Congress to be distracted by social issues like school prayer and abortion. Governor-elect George W. Bush of Texas said he saw nothing wrong with organized prayer in schools, but he questioned whether it should be such a focus in Washington.

"I have no problem with a school prayer amendment so long as it is not mandated to our local Texas school districts," Mr. Bush said, "and each district school board gets to make that decision. My priority is for Texans to be running Texas. And I hope that that's the message that comes out of Congress. We're pretty good at what we do in Texas, and we like to be left alone by the federal government as much as possible."

Troubled, Aliens in California Wait It Out

By B. Drummond Ayres Jr.

New York Times Service

LOS ANGELES — She said that her name was Maria and that she had slipped across the border from Mexico three years ago, without immigration documents but with the hope of finding work and making a better life, even if it was the furtive life of an illegal alien.

No, she said, no one had ever asked her for any proof of legal residence. In her world, she explained, you do not go where people ask questions.

She said she had signed up for English classes at the local high school because she knew no immigration questions would be asked. And, she went on, at the Clinica Para las Americas, where she was waiting with her 2-year-old son Leo to see a doctor, no one ever asked such questions.

"You learn where to go and how to do things," she said. But wouldn't all that change now that Proposition 187 had been approved by California voters?

What would she do should the courts not throw out the provisions of the new law that instruct teachers and doctors to turn her away and report her if she cannot produce proof of legal residence?

"I don't know," she replied, speaking through a translator but throwing in a few newfound words of English. "Maybe I'll return to Mexico. Maybe not. Maybe people like me will find new ways to stay here. Let's see what the courts decide."

All over California, particularly southern California, undocumented aliens like Maria are watching and waiting. Uncertainty is about the only certain thing in an illegal immigrant's life, and Proposition 187 is the biggest uncertainty yet.

The measure's supporters contend that, if it survives court challenges, it will put an end to California taxpayers shelling out more than \$3 billion annually in benefits for illegal aliens. But opponents say it will cause more harm than good and, in fact, is so draconian that it is unconstitutional.

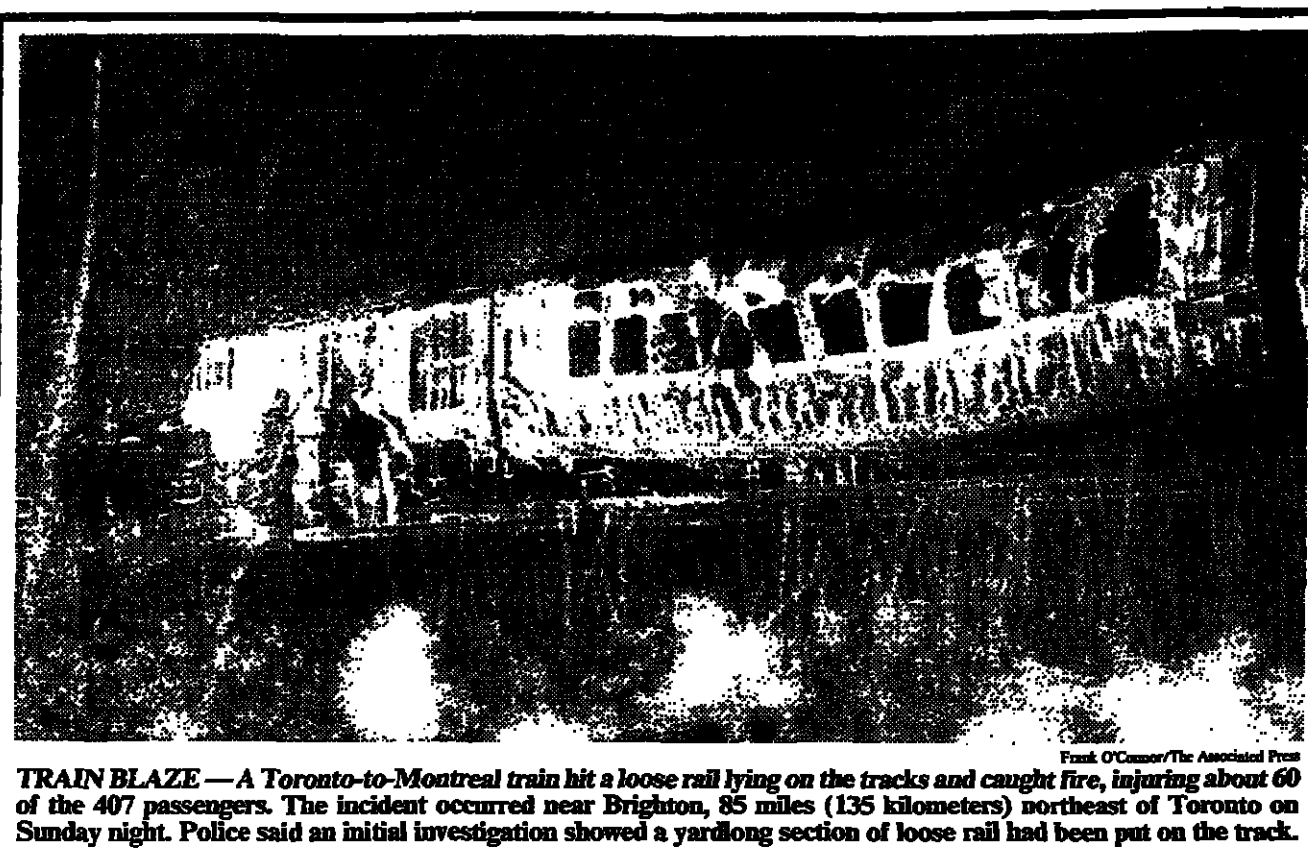
In any case, even in legal limbo, Proposition 187 appears already to be having some impact on California's huge undocumented immigrant population.

School officials report that some immigrant children they believe to be in the country illegally are being withheld from classes by their families, though the drop in attendance is not yet very significant.

Officials at medical clinics that serve poor immigrants, like Clinica Para las Americas in Los Angeles, say they also have noted a falloff in patients they believe to be illegal aliens.

In particular, they report, the falloff has been notable among patients who can postpone treatment.

Proponents of Proposition 187 argue that the problem is created by illegal immigrants themselves.



TRAIN BLAZE — A Toronto-to-Montreal train hit a loose rail lying on the tracks and caught fire, injuring about 60 of the 407 passengers. The incident occurred near Brighton, 85 miles (135 kilometers) northeast of Toronto on Sunday night. Police said an initial investigation showed a yardlong section of loose rail had been put on the track.

Imperiled Species Accords: A Mixed Bag

By John H. Cushman Jr.

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The agenda was as diverse as Noah's passenger list, and not surprisingly, conservationists said the results were mixed as partners in a treaty to control global trade in imperiled species concluded a meeting in Florida.

Ten Asian nations taking part in the biannual meeting of the treaty's signers reached a major accord to protect tigers, whose parts are often used in folk medicine and whose numbers are dwindling despite the treaty's safeguards.

China, India and eight other countries agreed to enact national laws banning such trade, to take control of stockpiled tiger parts and to preserve the tigers' habitat.

But delegates declined to take steps to protect broadleaf mahogany, a timber that is exported from Brazil and Bolivia. Environmental groups and the timber industry had battled bitterly over the proposal.

While some conservationists praised steps taken at the meeting, others criticized its failure to adopt stronger enforcement measures.

"Many of the strides made at the conference will be hollow victories," said Suzy Sanders of Defenders of Wildlife, an American group.

Though the delegates argued over many individual plant and animal species, they adopted new criteria on how to decide which species should be protected under the 19-year-old treaty and which are so threatened that their export should be outlawed.

In the past, such decisions were made largely on the basis of politics and fervor. The new criteria are meant to bring more scientific information to the process rather than relying solely on numerical data, like how many of a species are still living.

Contrasting decisions involving two African species — elephants and rhinoceroses — point to the difficulties facing the group as they try to reward countries for their conservation efforts.

The meeting refused to allow South Africa to export elephant hides and meat. But in a separate vote, South Africa received permission to export live rhinoceroses and to let sport hunters from other countries take out rhino trophies.

South Africa had sought permission to sell elephant hides and meat, but not ivory, and to export rhinos under controlled conditions. It said that this approach would reward the country for its costly conservation efforts and would not encourage poaching. The nation's healthy and carefully managed population of elephants in Kruger National Park needs periodic culling.

Although many countries, including the United States, were sympathetic to South Africa's argument, delegates said some other African countries were worried that any trade in elephants would encourage poaching throughout the continent.

After the United States said it would abstain from voting on the elephant issue, South Africa withdrew its proposal.

On another issue, the United States won approval for a resolution beginning what could be a long process of gaining some protection for sharks, whose numbers may be dwindling because of the trade in shark products, especially fins.

The U.S. proposal will lead to extensive studies of sharks, with the aim of controlling levels of fishing for them.

POLITICAL NOTES

Holms Warned on Aid Cuts

WASHINGTON — Responding to criticism from Senator Jesse Helms, a top administration official cautioned Monday against foreign aid cuts, asserting that current spending levels were already at "rock bottom."

Going on the offensive against the soon-to-be chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, J. Brian Atwood, head of the Agency for International Development, said further aid reductions would have a serious impact on the national interest.

Mr. Helms, a North Carolina Republican, has pledged to make the Agency for International Development a principal target when he assumes the committee chairmanship.

Mr. Atwood said the aid spending levels had been reduced by 20 percent since the Bush years and were lower than at any time since 1946. "We're at rock bottom," he said. "You really can't take further reductions without losing our influence." (AP)

Less Welfare for Immigrants?

WASHINGTON — Republicans are moving to deny welfare benefits to most legal immigrants, many of them the elderly parents of American citizens.

The restrictions, which would save \$22 billion over five years, are part of a welfare overhaul planned by the Republicans for next year. One of the least-noticed provisions of the plan is its ban on government services and benefits to most legal immigrants. Refugees and legal residents over the age of 75 who have been in the country for at least five years are the exceptions.

Legal immigrants would be barred from 60 health, education, job training, nutrition, housing, cash and social service programs.

Some of the biggest savings would come from removing legal immigrants the Supplemental Security Income program and from Medicaid, except for emergency care. (AP)

Quote/Unquote

Bill Press, chairman of the California Democrats, on the party's problem nationally: "The message we were broadcasting for the most part is that we're there for the have-nots but we're not there for the haves. And the haves voted and the have-nots didn't. So we're perceived. I'm afraid, as the party of African Americans, the party of Latinos, the party of women, the party of gays. But we're not the party of white working men and women anymore and the middle class." (LAT)

COED: Despite Some Grumbling, Both Sexes Are Taking a Shine to Mixed Basic Training

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together," Mr. Lane recounted. Ms. Rutler said the women, often challenged to do better by the men, found ways in turn to motivate them.

"Some of the guys weren't good at remembering things, so we'd make up rhymes to help them," she said. "In the field, I'd go behind a guy who was having trouble keeping up and say, 'Hey, you won't let a girl beat you, will you?' and that would motivate him."

Women in other sex-mixed training companies also spoke enthusiastically of the value of competing with men.

"The last time I went on a march, I had a guy in front and a guy in back, pushing me on," said Private Tonya Sanders, 18, taking a break from physical

training with Charlie Company, 3rd Battalion. "That helped a lot. If I had been marching with all females, I wouldn't have pushed myself as hard."

The female trainees appeared to take particular pride in demonstrating they could keep up with the men.

"At first the guys tried to help us do everything, as if we couldn't do things ourselves — like pack duffel bags or hold doors open," said Private Elisa Suarez, 18, clad in combat fatigues and setting up a campsite in the woods with Alpha Company, 3rd Battalion. "Then they stopped, realizing we could hold our own."

"They think they're so big and bad, and they hate asking for help, especially if they have to ask a female," said Private

Shelby Bresson, standing guard nearby. "They tease us, saying we can't keep up. They think this is a man's army, but it's not, it's a U.S. citizens' army."

Officers say they try as much as possible to treat both sexes the same. Male and female recruits train on the same courses, shoot the same rifles, carry the same weights and wear the same boots.

But the physical performance requirements for men and women do differ, a reflection that on average men have larger hearts and lungs, more muscle mass and longer strides than women.

The men, for instance, must be able to do 32 push-ups and 42 sit-ups and run two miles (3.2 kilometers) in about 17 minutes to receive an average

score; the corresponding standards for women are 13 push-ups, 40 sit-ups and 20 minutes.

"The aim is to obtain the same amount of expenditure of energy by men and women," said Colonel Franklin (Buster) Hagenbeck, commander of the training brigade here. "But that's a hard point to make with some of the male trainees."

If the men naturally do better on the exercise field, the women score higher in such classroom courses as first aid and radio operations. They also do a better job keeping their bunks in order.

More than a year of study preceded the decision to integrate basic training, but the army has not worked out all the kinks yet. Women still complain of too few toilets and

shower heads in the barracks. Female trainees also have been suffering higher rates of injury and sick call — a result, commanders at Fort Leonard Wood suspect, of the women pushing themselves too hard to keep up with the men.

This is not the first time the army has tried training the sexes together after induction. Coed basic training was discontinued more than a decade ago amid reports that male performance was declining, and army officials who are skeptical about reviving the approach have pointed to this as evidence it is destined not to work.

Advocates of integration of the sexes, however, say times have changed, and because women now serve with men in all of the army's noncombat po-

sitions, it makes little sense to train them separately during their first eight weeks in the service.

Although accustomed for years to coeducation in advanced training programs, the army took months reviewing the prospect of coed basic training. At pilot programs at Fort Leonard Wood and at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, the service experimented with various mixes, concluding that the optimal was about a 75-to-25, male-to-female ratio.

"The males in the 75-to-25 combination felt much better about their training, they felt they were still in control," said Jackie Mottram of the Army Research Institute. "When we went to a 50-50 mix, there was more role confusion."

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Among the documents newly released are letters from Japanese diplomats in Washington saying they were amazed to

SORRY: A Diplomatic Misstep

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Japanese Navy task force secretly sailed toward Hawaii.

On the morning of Dec. 7 — Dec. 8 in Japan — Japan's Foreign Ministry sent a final message to the State Department. It was supposed to be delivered at 1 P.M. Washington time, just 25 minutes before the raid was to begin. With characteristic vagueness, the Japanese cable did not clearly declare war or threaten attack. The message said Japan "cannot but consider that it is impossible to reach an agreement through further negotiations."

Even the Japanese diplomats in Washington did not understand this to be a warning of imminent attack. They took their time in typing a translation and did not deliver it to the U.S. side until an hour after Pearl Harbor had been bombed.

Among the documents newly released are letters from Japanese diplomats in Washington saying they were amazed to

hear reports on the radio that Japan had attacked Pearl Harbor.

In Japan, it is conventional wisdom that the failure to deliver this message as planned, 25 minutes before the attack, is the reason that Americans to this day do not trust the Japanese in negotiations.

The delay in delivering that announcement," the Asahi Shimbun said Monday, "sparked a widespread belief among the American people that the Japanese are sneaky. Long after, the feeling lingers, and even in economic disputes it has a profound impact on Americans' deep distrust of Japan."

"Of course, Japan should apologize to the U.S., too," said a sociologist, Katsusuke Suenaga. But in Japan, he added, "the group you belong to disciplines your conduct. Since the Foreign Ministry was guilty of misconduct here, it is entirely natural that it would apologize to the people of Japan for causing shame."

Troops Quit Rio Drug Slums After Weekend of Searches

Reuters

RIO DE JANEIRO — Brazilian Army and Navy troops have pulled out of two Rio shantytowns after weekend searches for drug traffickers, an army spokesman said Monday.

Referring to the situation in the Mangueira slum, Colonel Ivan Cardozo said: "The hill is no longer under the control of the drug traffickers."

But shortly after troops pulled out of Mangueira, members of a local drug gang set off firecrackers to alert would-be customers that business was back to normal, witnesses told Brazilian newspapers.

In Dende, a shantytown overlooking Rio's Guanabara Bay, navy units supported by tanks and helicopters spent nearly 48 hours searching for traffickers, drugs and weapons.

Army officials have not disclosed how many troops were involved in the two operations, but news reports said the figure ranged between 1,500 and 2,000.

Globo television said 128 people had been arrested during the operations, including the suspected head of the drug trade in Mangueira. Eighteen people remained in custody Monday, Globo said.

Away From Politics

• Navy records released by the mother of a female fighter pilot killed in an October crash show the aviator was rated above average when she qualified to land the jet on aircraft carriers. Lieutenant Kara Hulgreen crashed on Oct. 25 about 50 miles (80 kilometers) off the coast of San Diego.

• Construction accidents have sharply increased in Southern California since a Jan. 17 earthquake centered in Northridge. State officials blame a construction boom due to repairs of quake-damaged buildings. Several area hospitals report an increased number of people needing treatment for falls from roofs, ladders and scaffolding.

• A fire fighter in New York City was cradling two children in his arms and guiding their parents from a sixth-floor window to safety when the ladder they all rode twisted and collapsed. The father leapt free, and died. The mother and the children, ages 4 and 6, were in

critical condition and the fire fighter's condition was serious, a hospital spokeswoman said. • A crew member died and at least four were injured when a freighter loaded with coal caught fire Sunday about 200 miles off Boston, the Coast Guard said. The ship was headed for Italy after loading in Norfolk, Virginia.

• The rock singer David Crosby was in critical but stable condition after seven hours of surgery to replace his liver. A hospital spokesman in Los Angeles said the condition report was normal after an organ transplant. Mr. Crosby is a member of the rock group Crosby, Stills and Nash and was a member of the 1960s folk-rock group The Byrds.

• Elizabeth Birch, Apple Computer's senior attorney, has resigned to take over leadership in January of the country's largest gay rights organization, the Washington-based Human Rights Campaign Fund. AP, AFP

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Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

A Force for Rwanda

Rwanda is the case almost no one is willing to contemplate. It's too hard, too horrible. Even without looking, we know what is going on there: great continued daily distress and the stark possibility of a return to genocide. People argue, by way of justifying their indifference, that Rwanda is not a country that counts much in the world and that many other crises cry for global attention.

Here is the immediate problem: The Hutu launched an immense genocide earlier this year. The minority Tutsi victims fought back and finally seized power. A million or more Hutu refugees ended up in neighboring Zaire. Now the same Hutu militiamen, soldiers and politicians responsible for the original genocide run the camps in Zaire and prevent their fellow Hutu from going home to Rwanda — just as Khmer Rouge killers ensconced themselves in camps of captive Cambodian refugees.

The natural solution is to remove and relocate the gangs and let the refugees go home. To do that, however, will require the United Nations to go beyond diplomacy and form up what a UN report calls "a force of significant strength" that could "forcibly disarm, collect and escort" the Rwandan ex-government forces

"to cantonment sites." It would be dirty work, the report warns. The report anticipates an imminent request to the Security Council to take on that mission.

To say there is an international reluctance to assume new burdens in Rwanda begs the question. The French, almost alone, intervened before, but they no longer have the taste for that. Many other nations, however, must contemplate the consequences of turning away. The human consequences are further suffering and death. The political consequences involve the stability of Rwanda's region and the impetus given to genocides elsewhere. The moral consequences go to the deepest questions of compassion and responsibility.

So much is said about how America, which is the country to which others look first, must discriminate in its interventions. But if Americans are to restrict their own humanitarian imperatives, then they must pay more attention to alternatives. The most attractive alternative is to have a widely subscribed, well-trained UN volunteer force at the ready for emergencies chosen by the Security Council. It could be called, the way things are going now, the Rwandan Memorial Corps.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

A Global Criminal Court

After extensive and complicated preparations, the United Nations ad hoc tribunal to investigate war crimes in the former Yugoslavia is just now getting started. Two weeks ago the massacres in Rwanda were added to its jurisdiction. But these two examples of human rights disasters are by no means the only ones deserving the attention of the international community. What of the crimes of the Haitian junta? The Indonesian army in East Timor? Turkish and Iraqi persecution of the Kurds? It would be impossible to convene ad hoc tribunals to investigate all these yet it seems inherently unfair that some conflicts are singled out for world attention when others, whose victims are every bit as human, are ignored.

For years, a solution to this problem has been discussed in world forums: an international criminal court to deal with war crimes, crimes against humanity and possibly other intractable problems like hijacking, drug trafficking and international crimes against the environment.

In 1992 the UN Security Council unanimously requested that the International Law Commission start to draw up the terms for an agreement to set up such a court. Since then there has been a succession of study groups and high-level meetings. The International Law Commission has prepared a draft statute. Most of the international community now agrees that it is time to get serious — but not the United States.

Two competing resolutions are now before the UN General Assembly. One,

sponsored by the United States, calls for yet another ad hoc committee, which would just postpone the process. The other, sponsored by a group of European, Asian and Latin American countries, as well as Canada, calls for a preparatory committee to begin negotiating the text for such an agreement. The United States is reluctant to back this resolution, for various reasons. The Justice Department, the Defense Department and conservative voices in Congress all have understandable worries about how such a court might infringe on America's sovereignty. But such problems can be addressed in a preparatory committee. Agreeing to such a committee would not commit the United States to anything.

The disaster in the Balkans and Rwanda, sadly, will not be the last of their kind. In the absence of such a permanent court, future human rights outrages will demand the convening of more ad hoc tribunals — an expensive, time-consuming and cumbersome process. Finally, it looks bad for the United States to lecture other countries on human rights and international standards of decent behavior and then be the one significant holdout against a mechanism to uphold those standards.

Next year will be the 50th anniversary of the opening of the Nuremberg trials. It would be a fitting time to begin in earnest on an agreement by all nations to subject themselves to minimal standards of human behavior.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Fears About Genetics

The molecular biologist John Fagan touched a nerve last week when he held a news conference to announce that he was giving back \$600,000 in federal research grants. His reasons — concern at the momentum of genetics research, and belief that scientists should join him in backing a 50-year moratorium on certain types of commercial applications — tap into a lot of lay people's as yet unfocused worries about the possibilities that biogenetic experimentation could unleash. Can a genetically engineered or mis-engineered organism "pollute" the environment? What about "Jurassic Park"?

These vague fears are based frequently on only partial understanding of the technology involved. And it is also true that the particular dangers Mr. Fagan stresses — so-called "germ-line" manipulation of the transmissible genetic material of organisms — are not necessarily so serious as to outweigh the usefulness of this work. Mr. Fagan's position, however, is not that of opposition to genetic manipulation per se, but rather of caution in the face of the industry's momentum and, he says, an absence so far of coherent oversight. He suggests that biogenetic technologies are now "at the point where nuclear and chemical technologies were earlier in the century" — that is, on the optimistic brink of seemingly fabulous possibilities, but without any specific framework for avoiding the accompanying dangers.

What exactly might those dangers be? This is the point on which disputes among scientists are sharpest. It is also the central question for anyone trying to design a strategy to contain them. Mr. Fagan says he is most worried about environmental disruption, the "domino effect" that could hit ecosystems if a commercially engineered variation were

released into the wrong environment, especially if its genes had been altered in a way that would make the change hereditary. "You can't recall a fish."

Other geneticists differ with Mr. Fagan's estimate of the level of danger inherent in some products that have been cleared by the regulatory regulatory structure. Bovine growth hormone occasioned a terrific fight but was eventually cleared by the Food and Drug Administration; so was the "Flavr Savr" genetically enhanced tomato. Mr. Fagan's bigger point is that the excitement of the field and other commercial possibilities could outstrip researchers' own caution and get beyond even the existing safety features. His gesture, and the attention it has drawn, could flesh a useful yellow light on the stampede.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Other Comment

A Lesson Under the Channel

The first passenger train through the tunnel under the English Channel was a historic event. It also sends an important lesson to the United States. Passenger rail service can't survive in the United States, even in the Northeast where it makes the most economic sense, without major infusions of capital. But it must flourish, if only because the world of the 21st century will demand it. Perhaps a Congress hostile to public investment will force federal transportation officials to contemplate new approaches. Traveling comfortably between central London and downtown Paris in three hours might give them the right inspiration.

—The Baltimore Sun

Unchecked Aggression in Europe Endangers the West

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON — If the leaders of the Western alliance want to understand the challenge the West faces after the Cold War — one they show no signs of having understood so far — they should meet Dr. Esma Zecevic.

Dr. Zecevic is chief pediatrician at Kosovo Hospital in Sarajevo. In a column last month I described how she worked under appalling conditions — and how she was herself gravely wounded by a sniper's bullet that pierced her lung.

Friends got her out of Sarajevo and flew her to Boston to have the bullet removed. Surgeons found it resting on her aorta, the great artery from the heart; another fraction of an inch and she would have died.

When I saw her last week, she said she felt fine now. Would she stay here for a while to rest and recover from the tensions of life under Serbian attack? No, she said, her place was in Sarajevo. She began her journey home on Friday.

To meet Dr. Zecevic is to understand how the Bosnian war menaces Western values. Here is a 54-year-old woman, Western in outlook, a committed doctor, whom Serbian aggressors want to kill because of her religion.

She is a Muslim — not someone who wants a Muslim state, but one who precisely cherishes Bosnia because it has been a mixture of cultures and religions. Her family happens to be Muslim; for that she and others like her must be killed or removed so that Bosnian Serbs can have a pure Serbian state.

That is the challenge to the Western alliance. Forty years ago the countries of Western Europe, the United States and Canada, having fought the racist savagery of Nazism, joined in the North Atlantic Treaty to preserve humane values from Soviet communism. Now they face this new menace, this new savagery in the name of religious nationalism.

Leslie H. Gelb, president of the Council on Foreign Relations, defines the challenge in the current issue of Foreign Affairs. It is an "all-corrosive danger," he writes — "the teacup was filled with countless bodies and horrors, the scourge of civil and ethnic violence."

The piece warns that we in the West may underestimate the change in the world since the Cold War ended. We may

go on worrying about the old problems that haunted us — Russia, Germany, nuclear weapons — and neglect what Mr. Gelb calls the new core problem, "wars of national debilitation."

"If we fail to ameliorate and check this scourge," he writes, "both the victims and the unpunished killers will undo much of what we value, and undermine efforts to mold a just and stable international order." And the damage will be not just abroad but at home: "The failure to deal adequately with such strife, to do something about mass murder and genocide, corrodes the essence of a democratic society."

The West failed in the former Yugoslavia. When Serbia sent the Yugoslav federal army into Bosnia to help the Serbian aggressors there, Britain and France chose appeasement. George Bush, fresh from his triumph in the Gulf War, did nothing.

So it goes, to this day. UN forces, mainly British and French, are in Bosnia to help get supplies to besieged civilians. But UN commanders have accepted Serbian rules of engagement, worked with the Serbian besiegers and siphoned off relief supplies to Serbian forces.

NATO has many aircraft ready to attack Serbian forces for their frequent violations of declared safe areas, but the UN command regularly refuses to approve strikes. And NATO itself is deeply divided. Britain and France resisting any forceful action on behalf of the victims because the Serbs might then attack their troops on the ground.

The weakness and folly of the Western position have been humilitatingly illustrated in recent days. Bosnian Serbs have shot missiles at the Sarajevo building that houses the Bosnian presidency. Plans from the adjoining Krajina area of Croatia, held by Serbs, have violated the no-fly rule to drop cluster bombs and napalm on the Bosnian safe area of Biljac. NATO and the United Nations responded with mere words until Monday's air strike against the offending airfield in Krajina. Words risk nothing, because the Serbian aggressors pay no attention to them.

Unchecked aggression in Europe does not just menace Dr. Esma Zecevic and the innocent people of Bosnia. It menaces belief in the Western alliance. If that goes, the Visigoths of nationalist frenzy, and ethnic hatred will indeed be at the gates.

The New York Times

Asia-Pacific Cooperation Is Shadowy but Seems to Be Going Places

By Donald K. Emmerson

JAKARTA — Five years after the launching of APEC, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, in Canberra in 1989, it is easier to say what the group is not than what it is.

APEC is not an institution. It remains the only major regional arrangement whose members cannot agree to belong to anything more than a topic: cooperation.

APEC leaders' meetings, like the one last week in Bogor, Indonesia, are not summits, and their nonbinding declarations are not signed. Members are not even called countries, because China does not recognize the sovereignty of Hong Kong and Taiwan.

APEC is not a customs union. It is not a free trade area. The leaders in Bogor merely called for "free and open" trade and investment in the Asia-Pacific region by 2020. Along with its other notes, APEC is not in a hurry.

Yet in the Declaration of Com-

mon Resolve they issued in Bogor, APEC leaders took significant steps toward more trade and investment, and therefore more prosperity, on the already booming Pacific Rim. Doubters should remember that APEC economies already account for nearly half of global output and 45 percent of world trade, and that those shares are growing rapidly.

There will be substance to this political declaration because the APEC leaders agreed to ratchet up the pressure on themselves to keep opening their economies to freer flows of goods, services and capital across the Pacific basin, and to do so in ways conducive to expanding commerce globally.

The Bogor declaration started two countdowns. One runs to the year 2020, when the industrialized economies in APEC are supposed to have achieved free and

open trade and investment. The other will end in 2020, when developing member economies are meant to have done the same.

By directing their ministers "to immediately begin preparing detailed proposals for implementing" the Bogor declaration's provisions, APEC's leaders have increased the pressure on their own governments to move beyond rhetoric.

Also encouraging is the decision to renew the mandate of two expert advisory bodies — the Eminent Persons Group and the Pacific Business Forum — to monitor members' progress and recommend further steps.

And Malaysia, which has expressed reservations about APEC — fearing that the bigger more developed economies like the United States and Japan will not let smaller, poorer ones catch up

— was conciliatory. After the Bogor meeting, Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad said that he agreed with and respected the Bogor consensus without feeling bound by it. "I will not go to war with the U.S.," he joked. Malaysia's own commitment to free trade is clear. Its average tariff in 1990 was less than 10 percent, and the recent budget contained further substantial cuts in duties on more than 2,000 items.

As officials try to shape the Pacific Rim from the top down, millions of entrepreneurs are daily energizing it from the bottom up. This is the best long-term reason to believe that momentum toward free Asia-Pacific trade and investment will not abate.

Difficult questions remain. Will the U.S. Congress, newly polarized and Republican-controlled, sabotage President Bill Clinton's ability to live up to the Bogor declaration? Will Japan

change governments again before the 1995 APEC leaders' meeting in Osaka? How will APEC accommodate two opposing views of trade liberalization: the voluntary unilateralism favored by some members, and the binding reciprocity preferred by the United States and others? And when will APEC take up issues of particular concern to its less prosperous members, including the free movement of labor and the transfer of technology?

Such questions are a reminder of how much could go wrong. But Bogor went well. APEC is moving forward on the right track. It would hardly be fair to ask more of such a new and untested engine of economic growth.

The writer, a visiting professor with the Asia-Pacific Research Center at Stanford University in California, contributed this comment to the Herald Tribune.

The American Left Lost Touch and Has Deservedly Been Murdered

By Michael Tomasky

NEW YORK — I would like to be able to report that it's too bad it took an unprecedented massacre at the polls for what we in America peculiarly insist on continuing to call "the left" to see the folly of its recent ways and begin to get itself on track.

But I cannot so report, unfortunately, because I fear that even the drubbing that liberalism-progressionism (the isms that are now wassms, to steal from the marvelous utterance made by the man at the British Foreign Office upon getting word of the Hitler-Stalin pact) endured on Nov. 8 has not sunk in, at least based on random conversations I've had.

But let's be clear about it: This left, whatever exactly it currently is, is finished. Murdered. The heads are piled high in the tumors, and the crowd is slaked and has gone home.

Is this just a postelection fever that I'll get over with another week's bed rest? I think not.

It's not as if what happened on election day came on us with the suddenness of a Great Plains twister. It was years in the making. The Nov. 8 returns were the final referendum on a liberal-left agenda that paid too much attention to its tiny narcissisms and too little attention to the needs of most Americans.

I interrupt this column to define what I don't and do mean by "most Americans."

I don't mean just white people. More specifically, I don't mean straight white males, or white married Christian couples.

Another Return to 'Normalcy'

WASHINGTON — The first "sea change" in American politics that I can remember was the election of 1920. That Republican sweep came after World War I's end. Wartime fear and patriotism had come to an end. Idealism pretty much dissolved.

The public voted for what Warren Harding offered: a return to "normalcy." They got a decade of Republican rule under Harding, Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover. Then came Franklin Roosevelt's election amid the Great Depression.

Democrats had captured the House in 1930, but the real change ran from the 1932 presidential election. In that long era majorities backed FDR as he moved from economic recovery through governmental reform to the contentious years before Pearl Harbor and then through World War II. Once again a common goal, victory, prevailed — victory over economic adversity, then over military enemies.

And once again, at the end, Americans were emotionally drained, widely disillusioned by the tangles of bureaucracy — expressed so well in the wartime term "snafu." They wanted a return to "normalcy."

In the 1946 midterm election, voters chose a Republican-controlled Congress. If Harry Tru-

I mean most Americans, of all colors and persuasions and orientations under the cosmos, who work (or at least are desperate to) and pay taxes (or at least are willing to); who are not strongly ideologically committed in one direction or the other; many of whom raise children; who want the trash picked up and the neighborhood patrolled; who do want their government to address social problems, but who quite understandably are loath to turn their wallets over to politicians because they're looking at their bank statements and realizing they are not having a grand time of it themselves (and because a politician and an open wallet should never be in the same room anyway). And who are more complicated human beings than the reactionary, racist, sexist, homophobic buffoons that the left too often paint them in caricature to be.

These people feel completely abandoned by the left. Or if they don't, they should, because they were abandoned years ago. They were cashed in exchange for something that I can only presume the liberal elites found to make for more scintillating cocktail conversation, namely, themselves.

And so we sit around debating the canon at a handful of elite universities and arguing over Fish's or Jameson's influence on the academy, while the vast majority of working-class young people in America (a) will never read the canon, however you choose to de-

fine it and whatever you wish to in- or exclude. (b) will think Fish and Jameson stand for a dinner of carp and Irish whiskey (and be little the worse for thinking it, incidentally). (c) will take very few literature courses, and (d) will be working like hell to save the money to pay their tuition at a two-year college or perhaps a land-grant university so they can get a degree in whatever field they select and find a job that promises a reasonable wage and some semblance of security so they can own a home and do the regular things Americans (all colors, persuasions etc.) want to do, which are not, by the way, bad things.

The canonical debate is important, to be sure, but it has nothing to do with the college experience of 97 percent of all working-class kids in this country, which, as Russell Jacoby simply demonstrates in his recent book "Dogmatic Wisdom," is about simply trying to get a foothold.

I suspect that at the end of the day, the black and Latino youth of America, who depend so strongly on poorly funded community colleges to help them move up, would be rather more thankful to the rest of us if we'd managed to get them more loans and resources and computers for their various and difficultly undertaken studies than they are now that we've managed to put Cheikh Anta Diop on a reading list most of them will never even look at.

It is a broad, long, harrowing indictment, one that could fill pages. But let's cut right to the chase and take on one of the big ones. To wit, the single most interesting statistic to emerge from the elections: Proposition 187 passed in California with the support of one-quarter of the state's Latino voters and nearly half the state's black and Asian voters.

I will not for a second defend that initiative, would have voted against it and hope it fails to survive judicial scrutiny. Certainly much of the rhetoric emanating from its more vehement supporters was racist. But ask yourself: Can we really write off a large plurality of California's black, Asian and Latino voters as racists?

They may have been scapegoating, but they are also frightened and worried about their own economic status. A black man working at a menial job at Lockheed knows exceedingly well that Lockheed would take about a second and a half to show him the door in favor of an illegal Mexican if Lockheed felt (as it surely does) that the Mexican wouldn't make a stink about medical benefits or sick leave.

One can oppose Prop 187 and still be sympathetic to the point that those minority voters made. What's tragic is that things had to reach the point they did.

And they reached that point in part because an essentially reactionary left, rather than considering that the influx of illegal immigration created difficulties in the lives of working-class citizens and

that something should be done to address the problem, dug in its heels and cried "racist." Yes, true enough; but after you identify it then what do you do about it?

There's no surer way to create new generations of conservatives (of all colors, and believe me, it's happening) than to let the right take the lead on welfare, crime, immigration and other matters, because the right will score a knockout every time. Not because people are reactionary boobs, but because the left isn't offering them an alternative way of doing things that makes any sense in their lives, and people can only select from what's on the menu.

Now will come the arguments that the Democrats, having failed to carry the day in their lurch to the right, can succeed only by moving back to the left. I wish it were true.

If nothing else, the election brought us the good news of the stain on the escutcheon of the Democratic Leadership Council. And one thing we know is that no Democrat can out-conservative a Republican, because the ones who tried that lost too.

But does anyone seriously believe that, in the current climate, a Democratic Party that stands for single-payer health care, deeper military cuts, less welfare reform and a corporate tax increase will pull votes? If you do, I invite you to visit Earth sometime from whatever planet it is you've been sleeping on. It's not happening.

And please, spare me talk of third parties. First of all, they never get off the ground, and secondly the only third party that's likely to arise in this country today is one born of what the political scientist Theodore Lowi calls "the radical center." — Perot people, basically, and others who despise the two parties, whose numbers grow daily, and who are not now and never will be on the left.

That's the situation, and things will probably get worse, much worse, before they get any better.

Maybe we'll just have to let the people have their death penalty, their tax cut and their school prayer, and then, once they see that crime and corruption and interest rates and moral decay continue to exist, they will start coming back.

That will take a generation, of course, or maybe longer, and God only knows how many poor people are going to be whipped between now and then.

The answers? I don't have them. All who tell you they do are kidding you, or more likely themselves. I do know, however, that one of the many ill winds blown in by the whole web of inanities that we call political correctness is that it validated and calcified — I use the past tense here, rather hopefully, I know — a system of political ranking by which all who did not subscribe to the newest and trendiest and most subversive (superficially, of course) policy positions on a laundry list of issues were immediately written off as enemies of "progressivism" and instantly deemed unworthy of consideration or support.

That must end. Not in the name of reviving some old left from the '30s, because that's packed away in the dustbin, too, but in the name of remaking movement that understands, first, that every new and superficially radical idea is not good, second, that every old — dare I say it, traditional — idea is not bad, and, last, that some combination of the two can constitute a real progressive vision of a society based on work, education, community and all those other things that were our ideas to begin with but that we somehow abandoned and let the right wing take up and pervert.

We behold the strange fruit of our failures today.

The writer is a political columnist for the Village Voice, from which this comment was obtained by The Washington Post.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1894: Her Inclinations

LONDON — It is seldom that such admissions are made in the witness box as that made yesterday [Nov. 21] by Mr. Harding Cox in a further hearing of the now celebrated Harding Cox v. Cox and Dyball divorce case, when that gentleman said his wife had told him that a Mr. Butler, whom she met in a hydrophobic establishment, exercised a great fascination over her, but that she had never committed any wrong, for when she had felt inclined she had not had an opportunity and when she had had an opportunity she had not felt inclined.

1919: Rationing Again

WASHINGTON — [From our New York edition:] President Wilson today [Nov. 21] placed the government again in control of the nation's food supply by transferring the authority of the Food Administration to Attorney General Palmer. Revival of the war time functions of Food Administration resulted from government efforts to avert a sugar famine, but the powers will be used also to put down the cost of living. Mr. Palmer's staff will immediately build up a sugar distributing system, which will allocate all sugar in the country.

1944: Advance in Saar SUPREME HEADQUARTERS, ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, PARIS — [From our New York edition:] Swift advances today [Nov. 21] by American and French forces on the southern sector of the Allied front resulted in the capture of Sarrebourg, a big French junction in the Saar Basin thirty miles from the Rhine, and expansion of territory held in the Belfort Gap area.

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International Herald Tribune, 181 Avenue Charles de Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France.
Tel.: (1) 46.37.93.11; Fax: (1) 46.37.10.51; Adv.: 46.37.52.12; Internet: IHT@compuserve.com

Editor for Asia: Michael Richardson, 5 Convent Road, Singapore 0511. Tel: (65) 434.7777; Fax: (65) 274.2334
Mtg. Dir. Asia: Rolf D. Knappe, 50 Convent Road, Hong Kong. Tel: 852-2222-1188; Fax: 852-2222-1191
Gen. Mgr. Germany: T. Schuler, Friedenstr. 15, 60525 Frankfurt 71. Tel: 49-69-72 67 35; Fax: 49-69-72 73 11
Pres. U.S.: Michael Gorman, 289 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017. Tel: 212-512-2300; Fax: 212-512-2354
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OPINION

Tighten Immigration Rules But Don't Make Kids Pay

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — The victory in California of the movement to deny schooling and medical services to illegal immigrants who are not actually bleeding to death is the first skirmish in the war on unwed welfare mothers.

That is because both Proposition 187 (punishing some 300,000 alien schoolchildren for the sins of their fathers) and the Gingrich approach to welfare reform (withholding support when unemployed single mothers have additional children) are based on this philosophy: the most cost-effective way to change behavior is to make life unbearable under present behavior.

During the recent resurgence of righteousness, Governor Pete Wil-

son mean he shares their prejudices.

About the privacy-intrusion charge, turning teachers into immigration agents: "Teachers don't enroll students," Mr. Wilson says, implying that it is only the administrators' job and not the teachers' job. He says that school districts everywhere ask for proof of residence, and adds that all applicants to federal jobs must produce verifiable citizenship documents. (He's against national ID cards.)

Maybe he can bolster that defense of 187 in court with regulations against discrimination or intrusion in its enforcement. But no administrative amelioration is likely to alter the requirement that schools have reverse-trait officers assigned to root out those sneaky little offspring of illegals trying to cop a freebie education — to which the Supreme Court has ruled that they are entitled.

What is Mr. Wilson's purpose in all this? To get budget-cutting Washington to reimburse California \$2.5 billion a year for state services to the illegals? To get the Feds to stem the tide of invaders, many of whom sashay in as tourists?

Yes to both, but more: "If it's clear to you that you cannot be employed, and that you and your family are ineligible for services, you will self-deport."

I take the import of that to be: Make 'em so miserable that they leave the country. To which many law-abiding Americans, especially tax-burdened Californians, would say: Hooray!

Ebenezer Scrooge is my hero, too, but that neatly theoretical "economic disincentive" won't disincite — because being miserable here doesn't compare with the misery they ran away from.

Do we Americans really want to drive most illegal families deeper underground, many to lives of crime? Would we rather have 300,000 children on the streets, learning costly delinquency — or safely in school, becoming potential citizens and taxpayers?

Pete Wilson wants an immigration plank in the Republican platform. Fine; it should include federal reimbursement, amnesty, border control, but none of this creation of an uneducated, unmedicated underground.

After our talk, I am prepared to withdraw the charge that 187 is driven primarily by nativism. But in terms of practicality and of the American spirit, a government policy of making any child's life miserable is still an abomination.

The New York Times



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Immigration and the Law

I refer to the articles "Illegals Are the Bravest of All" by Richard Rodriguez and "A Nasty Surprise in California" by Katie Leishman (Opinion, Nov. 17). Both criticize California's Proposition 187. Both do a disservice to legal immigrants and the rule of law.

The scope of Proposition 187 is expressly limited to illegal immigrants. It does not curtail the rights of legal immigrants to receive government services. It does not alter the number of legal immigrants to be admitted, or the process of their admission. It does state that a person who, under U.S. law, is not entitled to be in America shall not receive most government-provided services (except medical emergency).

Mr. Rodriguez attempts, perhaps disingenuously, to blur the difference between legal and illegal immigrants. He states: "All immigrants are outlaws. Immigrants violate custom, they assault convention." It may be true that immigrants are "outlaws" in the social sense of breaking with the traditions of the family, community or country from which they emigrate. However, that does not make an immigrant illegal. What makes an immigrant illegal is his or her failure to obtain the right to work and/or reside in the nation to which he or she has immigrated.

Ms. Leishman laments that passage of Proposition 187 is scaring illegal immigrants in California. Isn't that what law enforcement is designed to do — to frighten the

lawbreaker and deter the would-be lawbreakers?

Proposition 187 is not an attack on immigrants. America's tradition is an immigrant tradition. America continues to accept hundreds of thousands of legal immigrants every year. I recognize that not everyone who applies for legal immigration to America will be approved. However, that is no justification for an applicant or staying in America unlawfully.

Mr. Rodriguez romanticizes the illegal immigrant as a "prophet" of a borderless world. Only time will tell whether the world will become borderless and if that will make it a better place. However, we do not need the passage of time to know that the world will not be a better place if it is encouraged to become more lawless.

DONALD MEYER
Hong Kong

Quebec's Considerations

Regarding "Canada: Stop Humoring the Spoilers and Make the Country Whole" (Opinion, Nov. 2) by Mordecai Richler:

To understand why Quebec would not separate, consider why it agreed to join the confederation in the first place.

When the confederation was being debated in the 1860s, the nationalist Rouges urged Quebecers to reject the scheme and opt for an independent country instead. Confederationists answered this not by saying that Quebec's independence was undesir-

able, not by saying that French Canadians wanted to join English Canadians in a Canadian nation, but by claiming that independence was simply not practicable.

As the newspaper Le Courrier de St. Hyacinthe noted on Nov. 25, 1864: "We will be on our own, and our obvious weakness would put us at the mercy of our stronger neighbor [to the south]." Quebecers must, therefore, understand that "unless we hurry up and head with all sails set towards confederation, the current will carry us rapidly toward annexation."

Quebec's weakness vis-à-vis the United States was underscored by a flood of emigration to the American republic. As French Canadians went in search of manufacturing jobs in New England, a union of Canadian provinces was seen as a means to speed up the economic development that would stem the mass migration.

La Revue Canadienne warned in 1865 that if Canadian provinces remained separate, their economies eventually would become dependent on the powerful neighbor to the south. "We know that where there is economic dependence there will also be political dependence," it added.

If the fear of American domination was evident in the 19th century, it remains germane today. From their reluctance to endorse the separatist platform, despite electing the Parti Quebecois, the majority of Quebecers seem to understand the danger lurking behind separation.

MAHMOOD ELAHL
Ottawa

Why Knock Conciliation If It Happens to Work?

By William Raspberry

WASHINGTON — Some people used to argue that the best hope for saving the world was to get more women into positions of political power. The thought was that women, being naturally inclined to cooperation and peacemaking, would be less likely than men to lead us needlessly into war.

I have not heard the argument recently. Maybe that is because war seems a less planet-threatening prospect since the demise of the So-

viet Union. Maybe it is because the women who did rise to political power — Indira Gandhi, Golda Meir, Margaret Thatcher — were not noticeably less bellicose than the men who preceded and followed them. Or maybe it is that women have started acting more like men — or, at any rate, think they should.

MEANWHILE

You will remember the old argument. Little girls (perhaps harking back to the days when women were keepers of home and hearth) play open-ended, cooperative games. Boys (responding to the hunter's necessity to capture and kill) play games with clear-cut winners and losers.

Out of this combination of nature and nurture, the argument went, came cooperative, nurturing women and competitive, macho men. This sexual division, of course, was never absolute. Both man and woman harbor competitive as well as cooperative urges. But it may be fair to say that the culture that has always urged men toward the aggressive side is now doing the same with women. Cooperation and compromise have come to be seen as weakness, in women as in men.

The women who command respect in the United States these days are the tough-talking take-no-prisoners types: Patricia Ireland, Phyllis Schlafly, Maxine Waters or Ann Richards.

Are we Americans better off for this culture shift? I don't think so. Look at Haiti: Its political situation is relatively stable, its people are reasonably hopeful, its elected president is back in power, and America's problem with Haitian refugees is on the way to resolution.

None of this means that democracy has been "restored" in that long-suffering place, but it does mean that Haiti now has a chance at political and economic salvation.

And how did that chance come about? Partly, no doubt, as a result of President Bill Clinton's threat to

launch a military invasion, but also as a result of the negotiations led by former President Jimmy Carter that had the effect of making the invasion unnecessary.

To many Americans, Mr. Carter's conciliatory approach seemed weak. Not only did he refrain from branding Lieutenant General Raoul Cédras and his colleagues as thugs and savages, he expressed his unhappiness, even shame, over aspects of United States policy. It was not what you might call a macho performance, but the result was the exodus of Haiti's military dictators and the return of its duly elected president, without widespread bloodshed and without putting American troops in the role of a despised occupying army.

Who won? Who cares? Mr. Carter played the game the way we used to think a woman might: without the necessity of clear-cut winners and losers.

His (so far) successful approach stands out in my mind because it is so rare. The tendency these days is to define the problem in terms of an enemy and then to drive the enemy to the wall. Too many of us are busy ourselves searching out and identifying enemies to be brought down.

On television — our present-day marketplace of ideas — political or ideological opponents are more concerned to defeat one another, to believe that the rules require them to try to defeat one another, than to seek points of agreement that could move the society forward.

This little boys' way of playing seems to have become everybody's way of playing. Indeed, it seems the reasonable way to play the game — until it dawns on you that it doesn't work. The people who are open to cooperation and community building are the ones who create positive change. We keep scouring the terrain for enemies, when what we need is to remind ourselves, as someone wittier than I put it, that the problem is the problem.

Instead of tempting women and girls to the macho way of dealing, we need to teach men and boys the usefulness of cooperation and compromise. Our tendency toward needless warfare, ineffectual and dangerous as foreign policy, is disastrous on the domestic front. It thwarts the best efforts of those who would try to move us toward community. Isn't it time to try a different game?

The Washington Post

Our Newest Chrysler Has A Lot To Live Up To.

How do you build a car that has to live up to some amazing automotive reputations? The best way we know is to borrow a little from each. And that's just what we've done with the new Neon. From Chrysler's Vision we've taken cab-forward design, which gives the car a wide track for precise handling while

of its 16-valve, 132-horsepower (98 kW) engine can't help but remind you of Viper's love of the open road. And there's a spirit of adventure that undoubtedly comes from Jeep. Grand Cherokee. But as much as Chrysler's Neon borrows from its relatives, its personality is all its own—that of a good friend and a



Jeep is a registered trademark of Chrysler Corporation.

Reform in Vietnam Brings Pain to Many As Socialism Is Phased Out, The Poor Suffer More Keenly

By Philip Shenon
New York Times Service

CAM LO, Vietnam — In the poorest part of the poorest part of the country, all the talk about Vietnam as Asia's newest economic power is a distant whisper.

The rice farmers who tend the arid, gritty soil along Vietnam's central coast say they are thankful their crops can fetch higher prices in newly free markets. But the land here in Quang Tri Province is so unproductive that even when prices go up the impact for most farmers can be measured in pennies.

Many farming families in this province of 400,000 people earn less than \$200 a year. And in some years, when the land is washed over by salt water that floods in from the South China Sea, there is no crop at all.

"I have seen pictures of Hanoi and the other big cities, and I think they must be like paradise, like a dream," said Ho Thi Dong, a 40-year-old laborer, her sun-leathered face framed by a conical bamboo hat and a frayed yellow ribbon loosely tied around her neck. "But here in the country, I think life is more difficult than before. The government cannot help us like before."

As the Vietnamese government abandons socialism to make way for the free market, the services that millions of Vietnamese had come to depend on under Communist rule are crumbling.

In government schools across Vietnam, students are suddenly being asked to pay for their books and, in some cases, for classes. Those who cannot afford them are being pulled out of school by their parents.

Vietnam's health-care system, once fully financed by the government and considered a model for the developing world, is giving way to a private system that requires patients to pay for medicine and a doctor's care.

For farmers, there is no longer the promise that in years of flooding or drought the government will help them survive by providing seed and fertilizer.

The loss of government services is one thing in a place like Hanoi, the capital, or Ho Chi Minh City, the financial center, formerly known as Saigon. Under a free market and with billions of dollars in new foreign investment, Vietnam's cities are booming, and most of this nation's city dwellers have never lived so well.

But Vietnam's new economic system means something else in a place like Quang Tri Province, where the people are about as poor as any on earth, where few foreign investors come to visit and where the opportunities of the free market can be swept away by flood or drought.

The government began to cut off free services four years ago, directing some of the money to projects like roads and electricity lines.

"It's logical for people to pay something for medicine and education in a market economy," said Do Duc Dinh, a government economist who is deputy editor of The Vietnam Economic Review. "In the cities, this has been no problem. The problem is with the 10 percent of the population that still cannot afford these services."

In the scrublands of Quang Tri Province, Mrs. Dong, the laborer, surely falls into that second category. Abandoned years ago by her husband, Mrs. Dong supports two children on an income of about \$12 a month, typical in the province.

One recent morning, she was being paid by the local forestry department to lug two heavy baskets full of tree seedlings, the baskets tied to either end of a bamboo stick that dug deep into her shoulder as she walked.

Mrs. Dong lifted the pole from her shoulder and sat down to rest. She gently rubbed her stomach, which has troubled her for years. "Sometimes I don't eat," she said. "I have trouble keeping food down. In the old system, I could go to the doctor and get the stomach medicine for free. Now, I must pay for the medicine myself."

Because of the illness, Mrs. Dong's life has been reduced to a month-by-month calculation: Can she find the \$2 to buy stomach medicine and an extra \$2 for vitamin tonic for her ailing 6-year-old daughter?

"Sometimes I cannot afford the medicine for either of us," Mrs. Dong said.



Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala of Nepal calling Monday for his party to step down.

Ruling Party Gaining in Nepal Vote

Readers
KATMANDU, Nepal — The ruling Nepali Congress Party on Monday staged a late comeback in general elections, cutting heavily into the Communist Party's lead and throwing the Himalayan kingdom into political confusion.

"It is not a stable situation and it is unclear and uncertain," said Lok Raj Baral, a professor at a university in Katmandu.

Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala said his Congress Party should step down from power and urged foreign aid donors to continue providing Nepal a financial lifeline even if the Communists formed the next government.

The Congress Party, which had lagged behind the Communist Party by as many as two dozen seats in early returns from last Tuesday's parliamentary polls, narrowed their rivals' lead to six, with six races yet to be decided. With results reported in 199 constituencies, the Communist Party of Nepal Unified Marxist-Leninist had 86 seats to Congress' 80.

The Communists still looked likely to win a thin plurality, but it was unclear if they would find a coalition partner to give them a working majority of at least 103.

Beijing's Take-Out Order: Busy McDonald's Must Go

The Associated Press

BEIJING — Breaking a promise to allow a U.S. fast-food chain 20 years on Beijing's choicest street corner, the city government said Monday that McDonald's must take down its golden arches to make way for a commercial complex.

McDonald's contends that it has a legal right to stay.

The outlet, two blocks from Tiananmen Square, opened in 1992 and is profitable. But the area is destined to become a commercial, office and residential complex planned by a Hong Kong developer.

The city's decision to break the land-use agreement is likely to shake the confidence of other foreign companies that have invested heavily in businesses on the premise that their land-use contracts would remain valid for several decades.

Arafat Rallies Armed Backers To Show He Will Keep Control

By Clyde Haberman
New York Times Service

GAZA — Yasser Arafat summoned thousands of his loyalists into Gaza's streets on Monday to deliver a blunt message to Palestinians that he has political control and intends to keep it.

To drive that point home, hundreds of young men came heavily armed to a rally organized by Mr. Arafat's El Fatah organization, some firing automatic rifles in the air and warning rival Islamic militants that, if challenged, they were ready to fight.

Heartened by the support, however orchestrated, Mr. Arafat called it a referendum in favor of his self-rule government and its peace talks with Israel.

But the display of strength also showed that the governing Palestinian Authority and its Islamic opponents in the Gaza Strip are still far from reconciliation after the battles on Friday between Mr. Arafat's police and street protesters that left 14 people dead and about 200 others wounded. The known death toll rose by one on Monday.

An uneasy truce continued to hold, but the two sides were stalemated in negotiations aimed at putting the violence behind them and backing away from the precipice of all-out civil strife.

If anything, the rally on Monday underlined how turbulent Gaza is awash in guns — among all factions — with the police having done almost nothing in their six months of power to carry out promises to confiscate weapons. The situation is potentially explosive, officials acknowledged.

Leaders of the main Islamic group, Hamas, said their forces would not shoot at fellow Palestinians. But at the same time the Hamas military wing, the Qassam Brigades, warned that it would take revenge against officials of the Palestinian Authority for the disorders on Friday, which they called a police massacre.

In turn, many of the estimated 10,000 Arafat supporters who turned out Monday and marched through Gaza City's streets held rifles aloft and shouted, "Whoever wrongs Fatah, Fatah will open his head!"

Peace Efforts No Fraud, Clinton and Rabin Say

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel went to the White House on Monday and came away with firm presidential commitments for almost everything he wanted: generous foreign aid; further military assistance; the prospect of American forces in the Golan Heights should Israel and Syria make peace.

But even President Bill Clinton's firmest commitment is shakier these days, as less friendly Republicans assume control of the foreign-aid purse strings in Congress.

And so, the ritual exchange of praise Monday was followed by something new: a joint defense of the Middle East peace process, which the incoming chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Jesse Helms of North Carolina, calls a "fraud."

"The prime minister has already said the process is not a fraud; it's been quite successful," Mr. Clinton said. "It's been the most successful process since Israel became a nation."

At least one faction of Republicans that is drafting a plan to balance the federal budget proposes cutting aid to both Israel and Egypt by \$1.1 billion over the next five years.

Monday, Mr. Clinton fended off a barrage of questions about Mr. Helms, who says he opposes placing American troops on the Golan Heights because he does not trust Syria to live up to any peace accord.

Mr. Rabin obliquely criticized Mr. Helms on arriving in Washington, when he accused Israeli hard-liners who oppose a Syrian peace of lobbying unnamed American senators on behalf of their cause.

MESSAGE: Real Target Should Be Ground Force

Continued from Page 1

forays south and west of the Bihac safe area and the shelling of the besieged northern town of Velika Kladusa, where at least 10 shells damaged buildings inside a compound housing ill-equipped Bangladeshi peacekeepers.

The UN official said UN military commanders at an internal briefing here Monday morning interpreted the shelling attack on the Bangladeshi peacekeepers' compound as a warning.

"It was a message, 'You're to stay where you are and you'll be fine,'" the official said, adding that the Bangladeshis caught in the Bihac enclave have about one weapon for every four soldiers and lack medicine and food.

At Monday morning's internal UN briefing, UN military analysts said they expected the Bosnian Serbs and rebel Muslims fighting in their ranks to try to cut the Bihac enclave into three pieces and bottle up the Bosnian Army's 5th Corps inside the Bihac safe area, the official said.

There was no talk of NATO air strikes to stop the ground and or artillery attacks on the Bihac area, he added.

On Monday, the Bosnia Serb forces took Zavalje, a village on the southwestern edge of the Bihac safe area, Mr. Silajdzic said. "They burned it down with artillery from the hills, then they overran it."

A UN spokesman said Bosnian Serb forces advancing from the west and the south had almost cut off the town of Bihac from the bulk of the Bihac enclave to the north.

In Sarajevo, two people were wounded Monday when an anti-tank missile hit Bosnia's presidency and another missile hit city hall. UN officials said the missiles were fired from a Serbian-held area just outside the Sarajevo siege line.

WASTE: Moscow's Revelation of a Deep Nuclear Secret Triggers Debate

Continued from Page 1

a long way from understanding that. We're dealing with a long-term situation."

But others say the injections could be one of the deadliest assaults ever on the environment.

"Far and away, this is the largest and most careless nuclear practice that the human race has ever suffered," said Dr. Henry W. Kendall, a Nobel laureate in physics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who learned of the injections while advising the federal government. "It's just an enormous scale of irresponsibility."

Repeated efforts to reach Nikolai N. Yegorov, a high official of the Russian Ministry of Atomic Energy and leader of the delegation that made the disclosure, were unsuccessful.

The Russian experts say they began injecting the waste as a way to avoid the kind of surface-storage disasters that began to plague them in the 1950s. But by any measure, the injections were one of the Cold War's darkest secrets.

Moscow said nothing of large injections and dissembled publicly by claiming to stand by accepted standards for radioactive waste disposal. Moreover, the injections are yet another environmental black mark against Moscow.

The three sites are at Dimitrograd near the Volga River, Tomsk near the Ob River, and Krasnoyarsk on the Yenisei River. The Volga flows into the Caspian Sea and the Ob and Yenisei into the Arctic Ocean.

The amount of radioactivity injected by the Russians is up to 3 billion curies. By comparison, the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in Ukraine released about 50 million curies of radiation, mostly in short-lived isotopes that decayed in a few months. The accident at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania discharged about 50 curies. A curie is the amount of radiation given off by one gram of radium and, in any nuclear material, is equal to the disintegration of 37 billion atoms per second.

The injected wastes include cesium-137, with a half-life of 30 years, and strontium-90, with a half-life of 28 years and a bad reputation because it binds readily with human bones.

ITALY: Berlusconi Set Back in Election, but Post-Fascist Allies Do Well

Continued from Page 1

and calls itself post-Facist, was getting about 13 percent.

The ballot for mayors and local councils in 242 cities and towns involved just more than 5 percent of Italy's 47 million voters.

But in a political atmosphere marked by widespread labor protests over Mr. Berlusconi's plans to reduce the budget deficit and widespread dismay within his three-party Freedom Alliance coalition, the election has been cast as an oracle.

Members of all three government parties have said the time may be coming to re-evaluate their improbable alliance.

In broad terms, Mr. Berlusconi and his allies — the post-Fascist National Alliance, led by Gianfranco Fini, and the federalist Northern League, led by Umberto Bossi — faced candidates from the Democratic Party of the Left. Some leftists had formed alliances with centrists in the Popular Party, the successor to the Christian Democrats.

The contest, particularly in the north, was also seen as a test of strength between Mr. Bossi and those in the governing coalition who have portrayed his movement as a spent force.

However, the Northern League managed to hold its own. Mr. Bossi warned that "the government must change its spots" and that Mr. Berlusconi must listen to the League's demands for federalism and anti-trust legislation.

Mr. Fini said the results made a review of the coalition necessary and that the government parties must pull together.

"This result means we need a serious review of the coalition in order to understand each other's views," Mr. Fini said. "But the only way ahead is for the Freedom Alliance parties to stick together, including the League."

RAI state television broadcast projections by the Abacus polling group only for the provincial capitals being contested: Sondrio, Brescia, Treviso, Pisa, Massa, Pescara and Brindisi.

No candidate was projected to win enough votes to avoid a run-off election on Dec. 4, although the returns indicated a leftist-backed candidate could win outright in Pisa.

The Democratic Party of the Left was the top percentage winner in Brescia, Massa and Pisa.

Cesare Previti, Forza Italia's coordinator and the defense minister, acknowledged the party's setback. "We weren't in competition," he said.

But Forza Italia also tried to limit the damage by stressing the local nature of the elections. Antonio Tajani, a party spokesman, said, "We are paying the price of an unpopular budget that perhaps has not been presented to the public as well as it could have been."

The Chamber of Deputies gave final approval on Monday to the government's draft budget, including the bulk of its controversial austerity package, on a vote of 223 to 159. The budget must now be approved by the Senate, where Mr. Berlusconi's coalition is short of an overall majority.

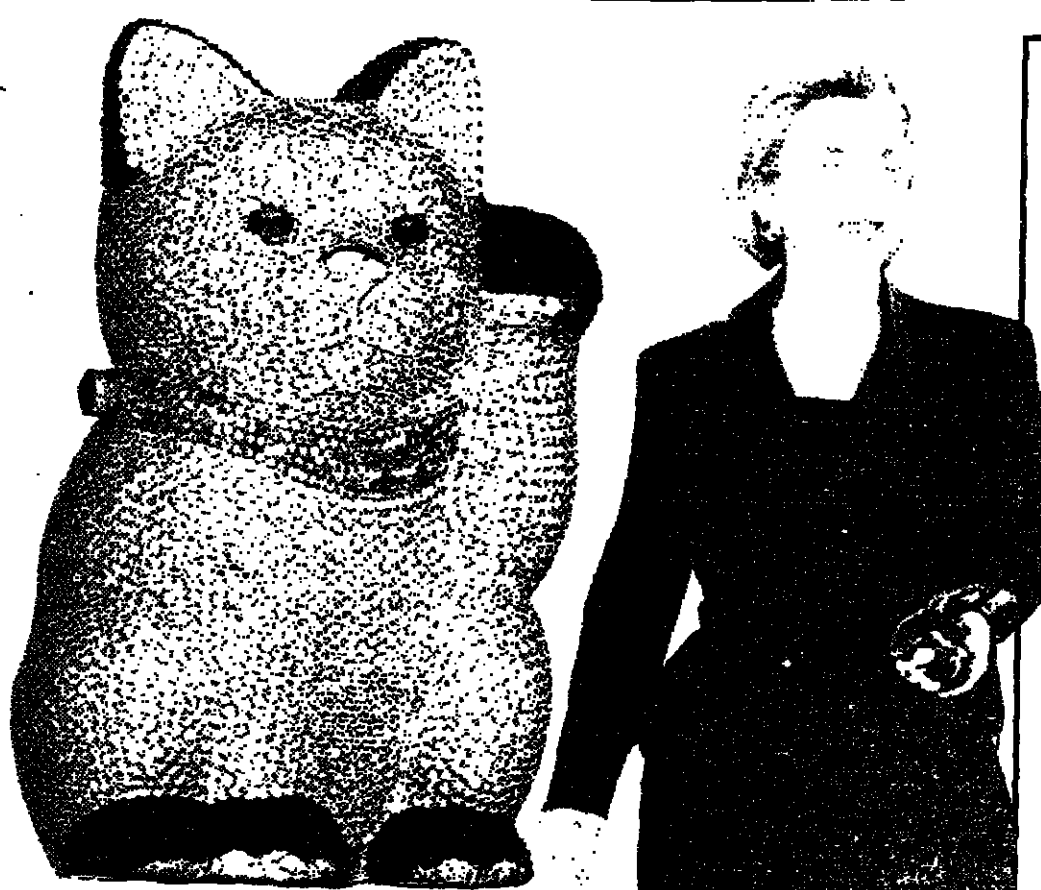
(AP, NYT, Reuters)



Probably the best beer in the world

مكتبة من الامم

Style



Just a Handful of Art

By Suzy Menkes
International Herald Tribune

NEW YORK — When Hillary Clinton visited Paris last summer, she tucked Socks — the family cat — under her arm. However, the feline pressing against the first lady's tuxedo was made of sooty black rhinestones with crystal for the famous white feet. The tiny evening bag — its official name is a minaudière — was made by Judith Leiber, the Hungarian-born designer whose purses are the high-society totem for those needing to carry a platinum credit card, a \$100 bill and a (small) lipstick.

A New York show celebrates 30 years of Leiber's whimsical work.

Leiber's whimsical works of art — miniature jewel-encrusted purses with distinctive silhouettes and decoration — are on show at New York's Fashion Institute of Technology. "The Artful Handbag" (until Feb. 2) celebrates 30 years of style you can clutch in the palm of your hand.

"I am thrilled about the exhibition — and if people feel that they could take them out of the cases and wear them now — that's thrilling," says Leiber, whose clients include the socialites Ann Bares, Pat Buckley and Ivana Trump, the opera singer Beverly Sills and Barbara Bush, who carries Millie, modeled on her Springer spaniel.

Leiber, destined to be a chemist when Hitler's invasion began in 1939, instead learned to make purses and met GI Gerson Leiber, who became her husband in 1945 and is now an artist. They started the handbag business in Manhattan in 1963.

This sturdy woman of strong character makes delicate, witty bags: a succulent slice of watermelon; a horse with a hide like a woven kilim; a plump, childish teddy bear; a gift-wrapped box with gilt-plated ribbon, a pile of books. The basic brass forms, later given the magic dust of bead-

ing, may be shaped as an egg, an eggplant, exotic lotus blossom or homely tomato that might have been plucked from the garden of the Leibers' East Hampton home.

Although the minaudières cost from \$1,000 to \$7,000, avid customers become collectors and connoisseurs.

"But when people put them on coffee tables, I feel that is wrong," says Leiber. "They should put a beautiful sculpture!"

She herself collects antique bags, admiring especially the Art Deco period and late Edwardian creations inset with marcasite.

The idea of a bag too small for anything but the bare necessities seems something of a period piece. But even before Leiber sold the company to the British watchmaker Time Products in 1993, half the production was in practical day bags, with alligator skin her signature. One capacious version even has a compartment for a portable telephone.

In the workrooms around the corner from the Empire State Building, the focus is on minaudières. Each metal shape is painted by hand or stenciled to a design that is then stuck on bead-by-bead, held in tweezers dipped in glue.

"Some of them are understated, some are jazzy and some are very simple — proportion is what it is all about," says Leiber. "The requirements of a bag are less limited than many clothes in fashion."

But with everything from a Buddha to a baby to a butterfly already made, what could Leiber do now?

"My husband and I both have a lot of whimsy," she says. "I started doing flowers and very feminine things. Then I did the mosaic egg inspired by Fabergé eggs at Windsor. There are animals, fruit, watermelons — even a penguin for a dear friend married to an arctic explorer. Next? I'm going to do a coiled snake — even if it is impossible!"



Clockwise from top left: "Beckoning Cat," 1994; Hillary Clinton with Socks handbag; designer Judith Leiber; and "Sleeping Cat," 1984.



Drawing of Daisy Fellowes, in "The Power of Style."

Lives and Jewels Of Icons of Style

International Herald Tribune

NEW YORK — Style is like pornography — we know it when we see it. That is a brutal image on which to hang a book about icons of style — 10 women who "defined the art of living well." But the lesson to be learned from "The Power of Style," by Annette Tapert and Diana Edkins (Crown Publishers, New York), is that it is brutally tough at the top of the Best Dressed List and as the hostess with the most social clout. (Elsie de Wolfe succeeded by spending on the decor but skimping on the food, writing guests' names in gold leaf, but obliging them to eat before her dinner.)

Mona Harrison, the daughter of a Kentucky horse trader, got started on the high life by trading in her baby son for divorce and half a million dollars. Five husbands later, surrounded by gorgeous jewels and grandiose gardens, her plan to immortalize her name in an arts foundation was scuppered by the abandoned son, who sued for half her estate. She was, claimed the homosexual Count Bismarck, whom she married for a title, "a perfectly normal, nice, warm-hearted human being."

And so, no doubt, were they all. Millicent Rogers bravely "endured three failed marriages," but although she couldn't keep a husband, she collected a Charles James wardrobe. When the couturier complained about an order for four dozen identical blouses, the maid replied, "Not a hoarder, Mr. James, a collector."

Daisy Fellowes, spotting a quartet of pretty children's dresses in a Paris park, asked "Whose lovely children are those?" "Yours, madame," the nurse replied.

Many of the stories seem apocryphal, and in the absence of any quoted source, dubious. The authors repeat the old (unproven) claims that the Duchess of Windsor used sexual tricks learned in China. (They also repeat the story that Jacqueline Kennedy was wearing a real Chanel suit when her husband was assassinated, although elsewhere make tart comments about couture copies she dared to wear in Paris.)

The most fascinating thing about these women is the seriousness with which they took their trivial pursuits. Although a few of them worked as style gurus — notably Coco Chanel as couturier and Diana Vreeland as magazine editor — even Vreeland is lauded for her "passionate exploration of attractive surfaces." The "Why Don't You?" column for which she was famed seems as ridiculous as de Wolfe's bons mots. "It's beige! My color!" on seeing the Parthenon.

The pictures posed by some of the century's greatest poseses, provide fascinating commentary to the text. Presented with hand-written captions, they have the intimacy and authenticity of diaries.

The brightest and best are the snatched paparazzi photos of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, who never played to the camera and who proves that true style can come without artifice.

Suzy Menkes

CHESS

By Robert Byrne

VALERI SALOV beat Lajos Portisch in Round 3 in the Interpolis Tournament.

The Semi-Slav Defense looks toward such complex and unclear adventures as arise from the Meran Variation with e3 Nbd7 6 Bd3 dc 7 Bc4 b5 8 Bd3 a6 9 e4 c5 10 d5. But White can insist on initiating the action with the Anti-Meran Gambit, 5 Bg5!

Portisch declined with 31...Bf6, but after 32 Qb7 Kf8 33 Rf5 ef 34 Rg5!, Salov pressed it on him once again. Portisch, of course, refused.

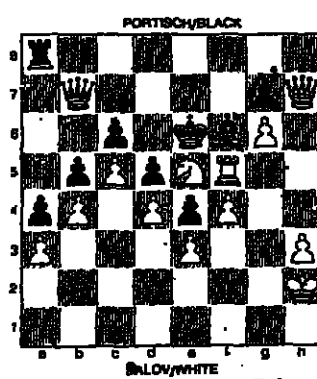
He tried to hang in there with 36...Qb7 37 Nf5 Bf5 38 Rf5 Ra8 39 Qb7 Kc6, but Salov struck with 40 Rf6! Kf6 41 Ng4 Kc6 42 f5! Since 42...Kf5 43 Qb5 Kc6 44 Qe5 Kd7 45 Qg7 Kc6 46 Qf8 Kc7 47 g7 is hopeless for Black, Portisch gave up.

Salov took advantage of this to attack with 19 g4!

After 21...Ne4 22 Bc4 f6, Black did indeed obtain the bishop-pair, but the knights were superior in the closed position that existed.

On 25 g3!, Portisch desperately tried to keep the king's wing as buttressed up as possible with 25...h5. But Salov cut off the h pawn with 26 g6! and doomed the defense.

First Salov brought his rooks to attack position with 27 Rg5



Position after 39...Kc6

and 30 R1g4. After 30...Rf5, he offered rook for bishop with 31 Qb4!, all set for the annihilating 31...Bg5 32 Rg5 Rg5 33 Qb7 Kf8 34 fg Ke7 35 Nf4! Qb8 36 Qg7 Kd8 37 Qf8 Qc8 38 g7.

Portisch declined with 31...Bf6, but after 32 Qb7 Kf8 33 Rf5 ef 34 Rg5!, Salov pressed it on him once again. Portisch, of course, refused.

He tried to hang in there with 36...Qb7 37 Nf5 Bf5 38 Rf5 Ra8 39 Qb7 Kc6, but Salov struck with 40 Rf6! Kf6 41 Ng4 Kc6 42 f5! Since 42...Kf5 43 Qb5 Kc6 44 Qe5 Kd7 45 Qg7 Kc6 46 Qf8 Kc7 47 g7 is hopeless for Black, Portisch gave up.

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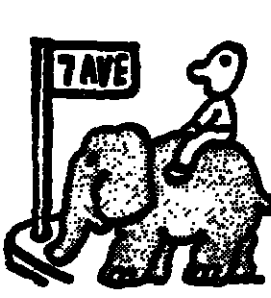
BOOKS

WHAT THEY'RE READING

• Yeohlee, a fashion designer in New York, is reading "Hannibal," a biography by Ernie Bradford.

"Hannibal was the master of strategy, and when he had to fight he always tried to choose the battlefield and time himself. It's something I can apply to the battleground of Fashion Avenue here in New York."

(John Brunton, IHT)



HEMINGWAY'S GENDERS: Rereading the Hemingway Text

By Nancy R. Comley and Robert Scholes. Illustrated. 154 pages. \$23. Yale University Press.

Reviewed by Christopher Lehmann-Haupt

FOR some years now and in several recent biographies, evidence has been gathering that Ernest Hemingway was not, after all, the avatar of monolithic masculinity that he was once so universally assumed to be.

Now in "Hemingway's Genders: Rereading the Hemingway Text" — a surprisingly succinct and jargon-free essay despite its deconstructionist subtitle — Nancy R. Comley and Robert Scholes explore more deeply how Hemingway really dealt with issues of sexual identity in his published and unpublished writing. By "gender" the authors say they mean "a system of sexual differentiation that is partly biological and partly cultural" and that extends to "sexual practice as well."

Taking Hemingway's masculine code name, Papa, as a starting point, Comley and Scholes, make the witty if somewhat pedantic point that the repeated morpheme "pa" has other meanings significant to Hemingway's art. In ancient Greek, it is an expression of pain, "pi alpha," being the cry of the wounded Philoctetes in Sophocles' play, "Philoctetes." In Mozart's "Magic Flute" it is a song of boastful fecundity, with "Pa-pa-pa-pa-pa" being part of a duet sung by Papageno and his

mate, Papagena, about their future procreative activities. In the comic opera "Der Rosenkavalier," by Richard Strauss and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, it is an accusation of false paternity, "Papal Papal!" being the words uttered by a group of children falsely accusing Baron Ochs of having fathered them out of wedlock.

Following what the authors admit are "these extravagant lures," they find in Hemingway's works "clues to the anguish and uncertainty concealed beneath the blunt facade of Papa Hemingway." One is that for Hemingway the challenge was to grow up without becoming his own father, Clarence, and thereby running afoul of his emasculating mother, Grace Hall. But this did not trap him in a haired of his mother. Hemingway resists reductive interpretation, Comley and Scholes insist. His aesthetic problem was always to elaborate the limited images of women that growing up in his mother's culture left him with.

This he did most significantly by taking the "rich bitch" of

stories like "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber" and "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" and further masculinizing them into a character like Catherine Bourne in the posthumously published novel "The Garden of Eden." Here, in an exploration of transsexuality far more overt in the original manuscript than in the sanitized Scribner's version, Hemingway "has positioned his surrogate, David Bourne, in an intolerable double bind: the source of his creativity lies in what for him is the forbidden territory of the feminine."

This bind, the authors suggest, agitated Hemingway throughout his creative career and accounts for the dreamlike quality of his late fiction, in which his characters almost literally cross over into a world that is socially unacceptable.

Are Comley and Scholes trying to prove that Hemingway was unconsciously homosexual, as a crude reading of "Hemingway's Genders" might lead a reader to suspect? "No," the authors respond after posing the question. "What we have been trying to show is that Heming-

way was much more interested in these matters than has usually been supposed, and much more sensitive and complex in his consideration of them."

The results are richly rewarding. Whatever else the authors accomplish, they force one to see new subtleties in stories read dozens of times before, particularly the layers of meaning that Hemingway can pack into a simple metaphor or even a single word, or the way, as the authors put it, "the Hemingway Text often extends beyond the words on the page and requires the active participation of a reader who is not afraid to extrapolate from hints."

Even if they don't leave you with a handy thesis with which to pry open Hemingway's works, they certainly convince you of their belief that their subject "remains an interesting writer because it is possible to read him in more than one way."

Christopher Lehmann-Haupt is on the staff of The New York Times.

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Herald Tribune

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CURRENT

MARKET DIARY

Rate-Rise Concern Depresses Stocks

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — Stocks tumbled Monday on late sell-programs amid concern that increases in interest rates will draw investors to the bond market and away from stocks, traders said.

Higher yields for bonds and on money-market funds "make it more difficult for stocks to do well," said Steven Zenker, money manager at McCabe Capital Managers.

For stocks to rise, investors must be confident that stocks will give a higher return. "Right now, a lot of people aren't sure that's going to happen," he said.

But the benchmark 30-year Treasury bond gained 2/32 point, to 93 1/32, to yield 8.12 percent, down from 8.13 percent on Friday.

The Dow Jones industrial average closed 45.75 points lower, at 3,769.51.

Two stocks dropped for every one that rose on the New York Stock Exchange, where volume was 293 million shares. Trading was slow before the Thanksgiving Day holiday on Thursday.

Energy shares firmed after

the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, which is meeting in Bali, signaled it would probably maintain current production levels even though demand is expected to increase.

Chevron closed up 1/4 at 43 1/2, Texas ended up 1/4 at 61 1/4, and Mobil finished up 1/4 at 84 1/4.

International Paper rose 1/2 to 72 1/2 and Weyerhaeuser advanced 1/2 to 37, on expectations that paper prices will continue to rise.

Adaptec shares dropped 1 1/2, to 21 1/2, after the computer-parts company's rating was lowered to neutral by an Merrill Lynch.

Kemper dropped 6 1/2 to 42 1/2, in heavy trading after the insurance-financial services company and Conoco, which rose 3 to 40 1/2, announced they had scrapped their proposed merger.

Intel closed up 2 3/16 at 66 1/2, driving other semiconductor makers higher. After Merrill Lynch raised its investment rating in anticipation of stronger-than-expected fourth-quarter sales of Intel's Pentium microprocessor, Micron Technology jumped 3/4 to 40 1/2, and Advanced Micro Devices rose 1/2 to 25 1/2.

(Bloomberg, AP)

Dollar Heads Lower Except Against Mark

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — The dollar rose Monday against the Deutsche mark but slipped against other major currencies as traders tried to determine whether the currency's recent rally was justified.

The dollar ended New York trading at 98.300 yen, down

A bigger-than-expected increase in short-term interest rates by the U.S. Federal Reserve Board last week also helped the dollar's gains.

But some traders said the response to those developments might have been overdone and was being reassessed.

Trading was slow at the start of a week that is often one of the year's quietest because of the U.S. Thanksgiving Day holiday Thursday.

U.S. economic reports this week will basically be limited to the budget deficit for October, due Tuesday, and October durable-goods orders, to be released Wednesday.

Some traders had been waiting for the Treasury's sale of two-year notes Monday to provide direction from the bond market. But bonds were little changed after a fairly well-received auction, so the focus shifted to Tuesday, when five-year notes are to be sold.

(Knight-Ridder, AP, AFX)

Foreign Exchange

from 98.580 yen Friday, but rose to 1.5565 DM from 1.5553 DM. It also stood at 1.3185 Swiss francs, down from 1.3185 Swiss francs before the weekend, and at 5.3385 French francs, down from 5.3410 francs. The pound rose to \$1.5673 from \$1.5660.

The dollar has risen 1.2 percent against the mark and 1.3 percent against the yen since the U.S. congressional elections Nov. 8, amid speculation that the Republican Party's control of Congress would lead to spending cuts, lower taxes and a reduction of the federal deficit.

Via Associated Press Nov. 21

The Dow

Daily changes of the Dow Jones industrial average

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Change
Dow Jones	3824.00	3824.00	3824.00	3769.51	-54.49
S&P 500	1024.00	1024.00	1024.00	1019.00	-5.00
NASDAQ	2124.00	2124.00	2124.00	2119.00	-5.00

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Ciba-Geigy Takes Stake in Chiron For \$2.1 Billion

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
NEW YORK — Ciba-Geigy AG said Monday it would form a strategic partnership with Chiron Corp., buying a 49.9 percent stake in the biotechnology company for \$2.1 billion.

The announcement marks the latest deal in the scramble by health care and drug companies to merge or form alliances as pressures intensify for lower health-care costs.

The alliance between Ciba and Chiron would allow them to collaborate on discovering, developing, producing and marketing biotechnology and other health-care products.

On Tuesday, Ciba confirmed Wall Street rumors that it had been holding talks to buy a stake in Chiron.

Shares in Chiron, which were selling for less than \$60 before the rumors started, gained \$3, to \$63.25, in late trading on the Nasdaq system.

Ciba-Geigy bearer shares fell to 769 Swiss francs (\$584) from 778 francs.

Ciba will begin a tender offer for about 11.9 million shares of Chiron common stock for \$117 per share. Ciba already owns about 4 percent of Chiron.

That portion of the deal is worth about \$1.39 billion.

In addition, Ciba will exchange its Ciba Corning Diagnostics business and its 50 per-

cent interest in Biocine Co. and Biocine SpA, a vaccine venture jointly owned with Chiron, for 6.6 million newly issued Chiron shares.

The 18.5 million Chiron shares Ciba is acquiring, combined with the 1.4 million Chiron shares it already owns, will give Ciba-Geigy 49.9 percent of Chiron's shares.

Ciba also has agreed to guarantee \$425 million in new debt for Chiron and will not buy more Chiron shares for five years unless that is required to maintain its 49.9 percent stake.

After five years, Ciba is allowed to increase its stake to 55 percent.

Ciba will also provide Chiron with between \$250 million and \$300 million over five years for research.

David Webber, an analyst with Alex. Brown Inc., said the deal "creates a stronger Chiron. For one thing, you have a revenue base now with the contribution of the diagnostics business from Ciba-Geigy."

He also said the deal was a sign of "a real acceleration of the consolidation phase" in the biotechnology sector.

On Friday, Amgen Inc., the largest U.S. biotechnology drug company, said it would buy Syngene Inc., a smaller competitor, for about \$240 million. (AP, Bloomberg, Reuters)

UBS Battle: A Very Un-Swiss Affair

Financial Institution Rocked by Takeover Struggle

By Nathaniel C. Nash
 New York Times Service

ZURICH — In Switzerland, discreet finance and genteel business manners are a way of life, and the rare corporate takeover is quietly handled behind closed doors.

But now the Swiss are getting their full share of a knock-down, drag-out fight over control of the country's largest financial institution, Union Bank of Switzerland. The bank is so big that its global assets nearly equal Switzerland's gross national product, but that has not put off Martin Ebner, a rich, brash Swiss financier whose actions are in the tradition of American takeover specialists like Carl C. Icahn and T. Boone Pickens.

Mr. Ebner, who controls 16 percent of Union Bank's voting shares, wants to reshape the giant from an institution that offers almost every banking service and earns a respectable profit into a lean bank concentrating on high-profit private banking and securities underwriting.

The current managers, he asserts, are trying to hold onto their jobs and are sluggish and lack innovation. Their institution far underperforms the banks he idolizes most, he says, like J.P. Morgan and Wells Fargo in the United States and Lloyds Bank in London.

Not surprisingly, executives at Union Bank profoundly disagree. They note that the bank, with a 25 percent share of the Swiss mortgage market, cannot freely move mortgage rates up and down to follow international money markets. In 1991, for example, Robert Studer, the bank's chief executive, was called to testify before Parliament to explain why the

bank raised its lending rates by half a percentage point.

So what is at stake is not just control of Union Bank but also its role as a Swiss institution. To address the perceived threat, the bank's board has scheduled a

At stake is UBS's role as a Swiss institution.

special shareholders meeting for Tuesday, at which the board hopes to pass a resolution that would radically reduce the voting power of Mr. Ebner's stock and that of investors who support him.

"Mr. Ebner's objective is not for UBS to live as a healthy bank for the next 200 years and be a support to the Swiss economy," Mr. Studer said. "He wants to focus on assets that require much less capital, and then take the excess capital we have built up and hand it over to shareholders to make them rich."

The furor over the Union Bank battle has made for a frenzied Swiss press. One Zurich daily is running a 12-part series on the battle and a financial daily, Cash, is offering prizes totaling \$32,000 to those who most closely guess how much of the proxy vote Mr. Ebner gets on Tuesday.

Against this backdrop, Mr. Ebner is making his run at Union Bank. He has been the bank's largest shareholder since 1991, after he persuaded Swiss pension funds to bankroll his company, BK Bank Zurich AG, which became a major shareholder in UBS.

Mr. Ebner also holds stock in Union Bank through BK Vision AG, an investment company in which Rolex Holding

Group, which makes the famous watches, is a major shareholder.




At the bank's annual meeting this year, Mr. Ebner proposed that the board be trimmed to nine directors from 23, arguing that it would streamline the bank and make it more innovative. Although his plan was voted down, he won 40 percent of the vote, which frightened the bank's management. Soon thereafter, Mr. Studer and the chairman, Nikolaus Senn, began trying to figure out how to reduce Mr. Ebner's voting power.

Mr. Ebner's strategy was built on his recognition that the bank's registered shares, which could be owned only by Swiss nationals, were out of favor because of their limited liquidity, and were valued at about one-fifth of the bearer shares that could be owned by anyone. Yet both types of shares have equal voting rights, so Mr. Ebner realized that he could have five times the voting power by buying registered shares.

To head off Mr. Ebner, Mr. Senn and Mr. Studer decided to propose at the company's 1995 annual meeting that a new type of share be created, for which all existing shares would be exchanged—but with the exchange reflecting market value, so that each registered share would get one new share, but each bearer share would get five. That would leave Mr. Ebner with a much-weakened position.

After Mr. Ebner approached the bank's management during the summer and said he was close to cementing support for a controlling interest in the bank, the board decided it could not wait until 1995 and called a special shareholders' meeting for Nov. 22.

Investor's Europe

Frankfurt DAX	London FTSE 100 Index	Paris CAC 40		
				
JAN 1994	JAN 1994	JAN 1994		
Exchange	Index	Monthly Close	Prev. Close	% Change
Amsterdam	AEX	411.19	409.85	+0.32
Brussels	Stock Index	2,201.85	2,145.60	+2.62
Frankfurt	DAX	2,165.28	2,200.22	-1.58
Frankfurt	FAZ	798.57	788.57	+1.27
Helsinki	HEX	1,911.49	1,928.73	-0.89
London	Financial Times 30	2,289.68	2,407.00	-4.88
London	FTSE 100	2,022.00	2,121.00	-4.67
Madrid	General Index	308.55	300.55	+2.66
Milan	BORSE	10,534	10,534	+0.33
Paris	CAC 40	1,927.33	1,922.77	+0.24
Stockholm	Affarsveckslan	1,581.30	1,597.12	-0.99
Vienna	Stock Index	3,224.46	3,179.14	+1.73
Zurich	SSS	524.17	523.65	+0.01

Monday's 4 p.m.
This list compiled by the AP, consists of the 1,000 most traded securities in terms of dollar value. It is updated twice a year.

[illegible]

Monday's Closing

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect trades elsewhere. *Via The Associated Press*

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yld	P/E	SE	High	Low	Latest	Op'n
1994	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1993	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1992	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1991	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1990	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1989	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1988	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1987	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1986	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1985	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1984	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1983	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1982	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1981	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1980	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1979	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1978	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1977	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1976	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1975	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1974	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1973	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1972	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1971	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1970	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1969	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1968	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1967	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1966	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1965	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1964	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1963	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1962	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1961	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1960	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1959	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1958	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1957	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1956	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94
1955	15.74	15.54	15.64					13.95	13.76	13.94	13.94

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Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	52 Wk	High	Low	Latest	Cmgs
Jan	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Feb	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Mar	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Apr	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
May	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jun	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jul	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Aug	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Sep	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Oct	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Nov	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Dec	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jan	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Feb	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Mar	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Apr	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
May	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jun	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jul	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Aug	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Sep	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Oct	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Nov	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Dec	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jan	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Feb	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Mar	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Apr	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
May	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jun	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jul	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Aug	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Sep	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Oct	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Nov	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Dec	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jan	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Feb	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Mar	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Apr	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
May	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jun	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jul	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Aug	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Sep	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Oct	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Nov	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Dec	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jan	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Feb	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Mar	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Apr	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
May	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jun	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jul	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Aug	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Sep	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Oct	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Nov	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Dec	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jan	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Feb	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Mar	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Apr	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
May	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jun	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jul	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Aug	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Sep	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Oct	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Nov	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Dec	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jan	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Feb	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Mar	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Apr	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
May	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jun	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jul	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Aug	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Sep	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Oct	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Nov	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Dec	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jan	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Feb	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Mar	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Apr	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
May	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jun	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jul	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Aug	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Sep	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Oct	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Nov	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Dec	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jan	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Feb	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Mar	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Apr	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
May	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jun	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jul	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Aug	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Sep	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Oct	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Nov	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Dec	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jan	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Feb	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Mar	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Apr	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
May	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jun	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jul	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Aug	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Sep	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Oct	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Nov	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Dec	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jan	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Feb	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Mar	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Apr	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
May	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jun	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75	100	100
Jul	1.00	.75	100	.01	2.50	10	100	1.00	.75		

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هكذا من الاهل

Nintendo Profit Drops On Yen and Weak Sales

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — Nintendo Co., the world's biggest maker of video games, on Monday blamed the strong yen and slumping sales of video-game devices overseas for an 16 percent drop in net profit for the first half of the financial year.

The company, based in Kyoto, posted parent current profit, which is pretax, of 51.05 billion yen (\$318 million) in the six months to September, down from 61.07 billion yen in the comparable period a year earlier. First-half sales tumbled 36 percent, to 166.10 billion yen.

Nintendo also said the strong yen and sagging sales would hold the firm back for the full year, in which it sees parent current profit of 104.00 billion yen, down from 115.05 billion

for the year that ended in March. Sales are expected to drop 27 percent, to 340.00 billion yen.

Nintendo said its sales slumped overall on weak demand for its products, particularly in Europe, despite the popularity of its new "Super Game Boy."

Along with Sega Enterprises Ltd., Nintendo once dominated the video game industry. But the companies have been facing increasing competition recently as other companies enter the market.

"This year is proving as tough as we expected it to be," said Yasuhiro Minagawa, a Nintendo spokesman.

Last week Nintendo unveiled "Virtual Boy," a virtual reality

game machine that should be in toy stores early in 1995. The company also is expected to launch a game machine called "Project Reality," which it plans to launch in September 1995.

Nintendo said it hoped to break out of the spiral of declining profit on the back of these two products and a revival in the global video game market.

But some analysts said they thought Nintendo might be too bullish about its earnings for the full year.

"There's basically a problem of oversupply," said Naoko Ito, analyst at Goldman, Sachs. She said that bloated inventories in overseas markets would weigh on Nintendo's earnings through next year.

(AP, Bloomberg, AFP)

Jade Merchants Warn Consumers Of Fake Stones

Los Angeles Times Service

The international jade trade is reeling from a proliferation of doctored stones that have appeared on the market since 1990, hurting sales and eroding confidence in the translucent green gem that is prized throughout Asia.

Some jade traders estimate that inferior stones, which are treated with chemicals to enhance their deep green color, now account for more than half the gems circulating in Hong Kong, the world's biggest jade market.

Concerned that consumers unsure of the quality of gems will shy away from the expensive stone, merchants on both sides of the Pacific are fighting back with high-tech detection methods and a campaign to educate the public.

The Hong Kong Jade and Stone Manufacturers Association recently spent \$200,000 for lab equipment to detect treated jade and took out ads in Hong Kong's daily press to explain the difference between high-quality stones, called A-grade jade, and stones infused with plastic, known as B-grade.

The jade trade generates hundreds of millions of dollars a year, mainly in Asia, where the stone has been revered throughout history for bringing good fortune. Jade has been worked into ritual objects and ornaments in China for almost 7,000 years. It was placed in the earth at planting time to bring good harvest and was buried with the dead to assure passage to heaven.

For consumers, the stakes are high in distinguishing high-quality jade from treated stones. A pair of Imperial jade earrings recently fetched \$750,000 at auction, according to Sotheby's. Similar earnings made of impregnated jade are worth only \$2,000.

The Hong Kong trade association says treated jade "has seriously affected the local jadeite industry and damaged Hong Kong's reputation as an international center for quality jadeite." Sales in that country fell almost 50 percent between 1990 and 1993, plunging from \$30.5 million worth of jade exports in 1990 to \$19.1 million in 1992, according to Jewelry News Asia, a trade publication. The market has only rebounded in the past year.

To adulterate stones, chemists bleach out mineral impurities from low-quality jade, then inject the stone with a plastic polymer resin to heighten its color, according to the Gemological Institute of America, a nonprofit organization based in Santa Monica, California. Because the tampering is invisible to the naked eye, the only reliable test is to put the stone through infrared spectroscopy, a process requiring a machine that costs up to \$100,000.

U.S. Halts Beef From Australia

Bloomberg Business News

CANBERRA — The United States has halted all imports of Australian beef because of a pesticide scare, Australian beef industry sources said Monday.

The decision, which followed a similar import halt by Japan last week, gives the industry a black eye just as it is poised for export growth in Asia, an industry group said.

John Mactaggart, president of the Cattle Council of Australia, said the industry, now worth 4 billion Australian dollars (\$3 billion) a year, is set for spectacular growth. He said demand in Asia was rising because of dietary changes and declines in annual fish catches.

However, Mr. Mactaggart said Australia would jeopardize its opportunities if it lost its reputation as a producer of chemical-free meat.

Bob Collins, Australia's minister of primary industries, contacted all of Australia's international beef customers last week to alert them that contamination of beef by a cotton pesticide had been detected.

David Palmer, executive director of the Cattle Council of Australia, said the U.S. ban had been imposed while authorities assess any risk from chemical residue, but he said it was not expected to be a long-term ban. "As I have been informed, the Australian product has simply been held up from release over the weekend," Mr. Palmer told Australian Broadcasting Corp. radio.

It is estimated that between 5,000 and 6,000 tons of Australian beef were affected by the U.S. action.

Investor's Asia				
Exchange	Index	Monday Close	Friday Close	Change
Hong Kong	Hang Seng	8,203.24	9,427.44	+1,224.20
Singapore	Straits Times	2,221.98	2,354.87	+132.89
Sydney	All Ordinaries	1,309.58	1,322.07	+12.49
Tokyo	Nikkei 225	19,181.72	19,302.56	+120.84
Kuala Lumpur	Composite	1,045.38	1,048.88	+3.50
Bangkok	SET	1,448.58	1,457.48	+8.90
Seoul	Composite Stock	1,117.08	1,118.58	+1.50
Taipei	Weighted Price	6,404.82	6,358.58	-46.24
Manila	PSE	2,899.79	2,912.86	+13.07
Jakarta	Stock Index	606.66	509.70	-96.96
New Zealand	NZSE-40	2,031.22	2,052.86	+21.64
Bombay	National Index	1,965.87	1,964.53	-1.34

Sources: Reuters, AFP International Herald Tribune

Very briefly:

• Kyocera Corp. of Japan, a maker of integrated circuit ceramic packages, said a 24 percent drop in group pretax profit in the six months to September, to 33.1 billion yen (\$331 million), was exaggerated because of special gains in the year-earlier period.

• Bridgestone Corp. said it would start producing Firestone-brand tires in Japan from 1995 for export to Asia, Europe and South America, because its U.S. unit Bridgestone/Firestone Inc. is faced with capacity shortfall in the U.S. market.

• The Industrial Bank of Japan Ltd. and The Bank of Tokyo Ltd. said they would open representative offices in Hanoi on Tuesday.

• Japan's salaried workers fail to use 38 percent of their paid holidays, while senior managers renounce 59.2 percent of vacation time, according to an Institute of Labor Administration survey.

• Taiwan garnered \$8.41 billion worth of business orders from abroad in October, a 13.4 percent jump over the comparable period last year, because the improving global economy spurred demand for local products, the economic ministry said.

AP, AFP, AP, Bloomberg

Japan Firms Show Signs of Health

Reuters

TOKYO — The bulk of corporate Japan has reported its results for the financial half-year that ended Sept. 30, and analysts said Monday that earnings overall were poised to mark their first rise in five years.

The Wako Research Institute of Economics surveyed 602 companies that are on the first section of the Tokyo Stock Exchange and have already reported results.

The institute said combined parent current profits for the first half rose 4 percent, compared with a loss of 17 percent the previous year, despite a 2 percent decline in sales.

Recovering global economies have led to increased demand for Japanese products, meaning the strong yen was no longer a great concern, said Neil Rogers, a strategist at UBS Securities. He added that companies have benefited from government stimuli and low short-term interest rates.

Yuichi Matsushita, of Nikko Securities Co.,

said that additional public works spending could be expected.

He said the government had proposed replacing a 430 trillion yen (\$4.4 billion) spending plan over the 10 years starting in 1991-92 with a fresh program of about 630 trillion yen over the 10 years starting in April 1995.

Kathy Matsui, a strategist at Goldman, Sachs (Japan) Corp., said the benefits from restructuring have helped companies' earnings despite a decline in revenue.

To cope with the yen's sharp appreciation against the dollar, companies have been slashing a wide variety of fixed costs, mainly by shaving their work forces "and moving operations offshore in a bid to bring down overall production costs and source cheaper imports," Ms. Matsui said.

Mr. Rogers of UBS said that the good news would not help the stock market because it had already been factored into share prices. But a significant rise in full-year profit would help stocks, he said.

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Wharf's Cable Unit to Miss Subscription Target

Bloomberg Business News

HONG KONG — Hong Kong's only cable television company said Monday it would not reach the 1994 subscription target it set earlier this year.

Stephen Ng, managing director of Cable TV, a subsidiary of Wharf (Holdings) Ltd., said the company would not reach the goal of 250,000 subscribers it set last summer.

Benny Chan, the company's manager for corporate communications, said that the target of 250,000 subscriptions was mainly an incentive for the company's sales force. He said the company now

expected to have 150,000 subscribers by the end of the year.

Wharf has wired 850,000 of the territory's 1.5 million households for cable television. It now has 120,000 subscribers, 10,000 short of the 1994 year-end figure in Wharf's proposal to the government, Mr. Chan said.

The company has been guaranteed a monopoly for three years, to 1996. Despite the sluggish subscription rate, analysts forecast strong long-term profit for the company as its solidifies that monopoly.

■ **Australis Secures Rights to Films**
Australis Media, the Australian pay

television company, formed a partnership with three Hollywood studios and Tele-Communications Inc., the U.S. cable company, to secure movies for its satellite and microwave services, Bloomberg reported from Sydney.

Under the agreement with Paramount Pictures Corp., Sony Pictures Entertainment Inc. and MCA Inc., Australis has exclusive rights to broadcast first-run and older movies for five and a half years, with an option for a further five years. TCL, which put up collateral for Australis, will be issued 895,000 Australis shares.



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Beirut's new era started last September, when more than 40,000 persons joined hands in the Martyrs' Square to sing along with the Lebanese diva Fayrouz, who had vowed not to sing again in her country until there was peace.

In a flowing white robe and accompanied by a 40-piece orchestra, Fayrouz sang "I love you, Lebanon." She was joined by her audience, who had come from all over the Levant. It was a moving occasion. Christians, Moslems, the young and the old held hands as their voices echoed around the piles of rubble and nearby shell-shot buildings.

"It was a most beautiful moment, such a moving experience, which I have never felt before," says Roula Bitar, a young woman in her twenties who grew up during the 18-year civil war that tore Lebanon apart. "Everyone was united. I could never have believed this would happen."

Rambo no longer
Jacques Sarraf, president of the Association of Lebanese Industrialists and one of Lebanon's most influential business executives, says the concert was "unbelievable. It showed that when we Lebanese are in a good environment, we can behave and be proud of ourselves. There is no longer the 'Rambo' image—all that has changed. It is behind us."

A few days after the concert, in another flamboyant ceremony, President Elias Hrawi laid the foundation stone to mark the beginning of a multimillion-dollar project to rebuild the city of Beirut. On the foundation stone was a single word: "Beirut." It was laid next to the bullet-blasted stamens of the Martyrs' Monument, which had been at the center of countless battles during the civil war that started in 1975.

Laying the foundation
"The hour of awakening has come. He who has only tears

for what has been destroyed is exactly like he who has destroyed. We want this foundation stone that we are laying to be a stone that buries the whims of destruction. We want a foundation stone for a new age and a renewed presence," declared Mr. Hrawi, a Maronite Christian, amidst thundering applause.

The stone-laying ceremony was also a symbolic gesture by the government to damn the critics of the city-center rebuilding project, which is being carried out by the private company Solidere. The government granted a decree three years ago that allowed Solidere to acquire the 1.2 million square acres of real estate by offering a total of \$1.17 billion in shares to the 120,000 individual titleholders. Cash subscribers paid \$650 mil-



With peace restored, the Lebanese diva Fayrouz returned to sing in Beirut.



LEBANON Rebuilds

lion for an equity offering in late 1993. Critics accused Solidere of riding roughshod over some property owners with its financial strategy and of denigrating the traditional face of Beirut's city center by imposing too much modern architecture. In fact, Solidere has made several modifications to its original plans to encourage a more traditional and cohesive design for the city center. A competition for the redesign of the old souk area attracted worldwide interest.

Congestion ahead
The reconstruction is now on the move, unlike the traffic. As streets are blocked off for building clearance and for the laying of the preliminary utility services, traffic congestion has become a major headache. It is going to get worse as the work expands.

In the first 10 months of the year, there has been a noticeable change in the city center. Old buildings too damaged to restore have been bulldozed into piles of rubble. Altogether, more than 120 buildings have been razed to the ground, and an estimated 3 million tons of rubble have been removed from the central area. Sites have been marked off for new buildings, and billboards carry posters depicting artists' impressions of the new Beirut. Buildings considered safe enough for rebuilding have been left standing, with gaping windows in bullet-strafed facades looking like a Gothic nightmare.

From the Martyrs' Square, a swathe has been cut

through the derelict buildings; this will become a ritzy boulevard leading down to the Mediterranean. Along the seafloor, dozens of new apartment blocks have risen Phoenix-like from amidst the surrounding rubble. Many in the best positions are commanding sky-high prices of several million dollars for just one apartment.

These are the outward and visible signs of a growing confidence in the future of Beirut and Lebanon as a whole in spite of some unfinished peacemaking business with Israel. The latter's troops still occupy part of Southern Lebanon, which—with the recent exception of Kuwait—is the only active front line in the Middle East. The Israeli forces are countered by the presence of some 20,000 Syrian armed forces in Lebanon. They also reinforce the very close ties between Beirut and Damascus. Syria's influence has undoubtedly led to the present era of peace and stability.

Prime Minister Rafik

Hariri, a 49-year-old construction billionaire, tends to run the country as Lebanon Inc. In spite of considerable criticism from opposition parties, he has held the present government together and nursed it from a fitful peace into the new era of enterprise and stability. He has masterminded the reconstruction planning of the city and of Lebanon through the Council for Development and Reconstruction. The council was originally established in 1977 but became defunct, to be revived by Mr. Hariri in 1991 before he became prime minister.

Horizon 2000
Mr. Hariri's plan for the reconstruction and development of the country and its economy has been dubbed Horizon 2000. This is an ambitious \$16 billion program covering 19 individual sectors, from education to garbage collection.

The money will be raised from internal and external sources. The fact that the Solidere share issue of \$650

million was oversubscribed by 42 percent suggests there is no shortage of speculative capital: the share issue was open only to Lebanese. Another more recent vote of confidence for Mr. Hariri is the current Eurobond issue, which is being lead-managed by Merrill Lynch and underwritten by Banque Indosuez and Paribas. This is Lebanon's first Eurobond issue and one of the first from the Arab world. It was originally set at \$150 million. Because of investor interest, however, it was raised to \$300 million and then increased further to \$400 million. The three-year bonds are expected to be listed on the Luxembourg Stock Exchange.

A victory for Lebanon
"This deal opens the door to the international capital markets," said Mr. Hariri at a London ceremony to launch the bond. Proceeds from the bond will be used to finance a major ring road for Beirut and to build homes to encourage those displaced by



Lebanese President Elias Hrawi (in white suit) lays the foundation stone to mark the rebuilding of Beirut.

the civil war to vacate the overcrowded capital area. Mr. Hariri described the exceptional interest in the Eurobond issue as a "victory for Lebanon." He added that the issue was a "trust sub-

scription" in Lebanon and its ability to get back on its feet. "It will also open the door for Lebanon to borrow from the whole world," said

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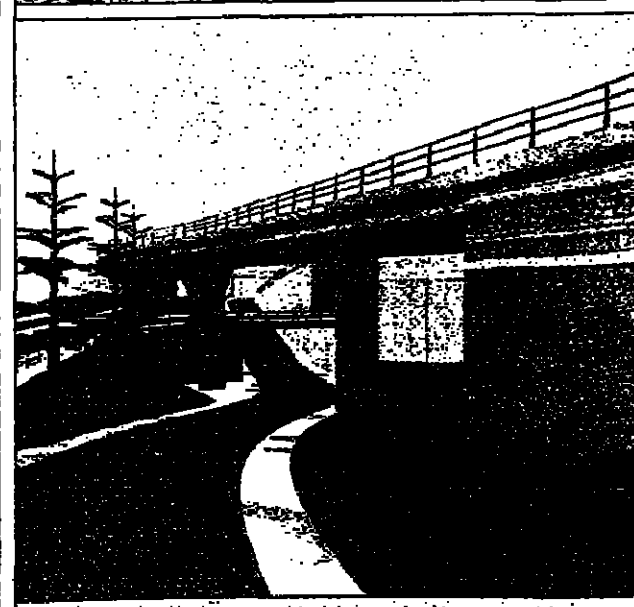
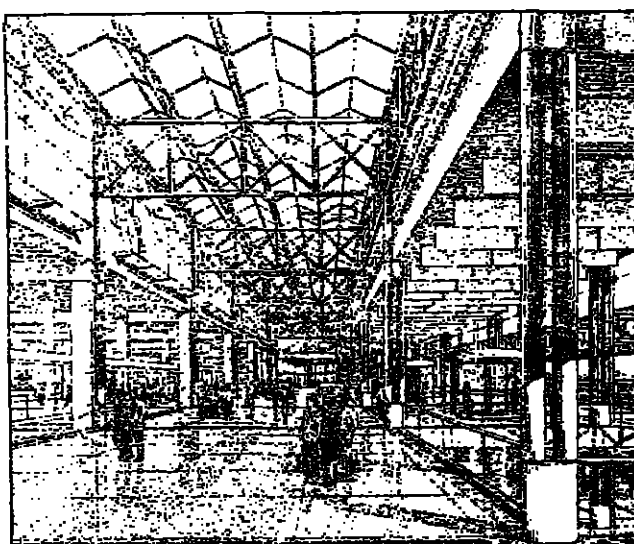
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Scenes from the city center.
In main street in the city center.



ANALYSTS SAY ECONOMY IS ON THE RIGHT TRACK

A look at the smart moves behind Lebanon's economic renewal, which includes significant GDP growth and a sharp drop in inflation.

Doubts over the development of the economy were strongly refuted recently by Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, who has accused critics from many sides of the political and religious spectrum of manipulating data. "You can see all the achievements that have been accomplished since the end of the war [1990]," he told them. "Proposals putting Lebanon's economic stability in doubt are unfounded. Our economic future is very solid and is progressing month by month in the direction of economic and social balance."

Peace and price stability

According to United Nations estimates, the country was left with a war-damage bill of more than \$25 billion — five times more than that incurred by Kuwait in 1990-91 after the Iraqi invasion. Despite this handicap, Lebanon's sustained economic growth has been exceptional after a slight decline following a peace bonus in 1990-91. In the past two years, inflation has been dragged down from 131 percent to 8.8 percent last year. Merrill Lynch International's Eurobond prospectus says that this "marks the first prolonged

return to price stability since the mid-1980s." According to Freddie Vaz of Bank Audi, one of Lebanon's top banks, inflation is expected to have fallen to just over 5 percent for the first eight months of the year.

Other indications that Lebanon is on the right track come from a recent report by Baring Securities of London. The report comments on the improvement in gross domestic product, which has risen from 4 percent in 1992 "and is likely to be between 5 percent and 7 percent by the end of this year."

Foreign reserves have climbed steadily, from \$660 million in 1990 to \$3.3 billion at the end of the first half of this year.

Balancing the books

According to the Banque du Liban, the country's central bank, the balance of payments was \$107.8 million in surplus due to strong capital inflows and a revival in tourism at the end of August. Due to an exceptional transfer abroad of \$135 million by Solidere, however, the balance of payments registered an overall deficit of \$27.2 million.

"In the past year, we have had

capital inflows of some \$1.3 billion," says Nasser Saidi, vice governor of the Banque du Liban. He says that the Solidere transfer after the public offering of shares at the end of last year was purely a technical anomaly affecting the balance of payments. He says that there has been a decline in imports so far this year. "This is a good sign following the buildup of stocks — a once and for all situation — in 1993," he says.

"We are now getting back to a more normal situation." The trade deficit fell by more than 20 percent at the end of July, to just under 250 billion Lebanese pounds (\$149 million), compared with the same period in 1993. As an indicator of economic activity, cement deliveries and construction permits in July rose by 35.6 percent and 20 percent respectively, compared with 1993.

Financial center

The banking sector will be playing an increasingly important role in the development of Beirut as a financial center, which was its dominant role in the Middle East prior to the civil war. Total bank deposits exceeded \$9 billion at the end of 1993.

Lebanon is considerably overbanked, with 76 active commercial banks, four nonoperational ones, nine financial institutions and four specialized credit banks.

"I think most of the banks are on track to meet the 8 percent capital-asset ratio called for by the Basel Agreement," says Mr. Saidi. "However, some of them might find it useful to merge."

Mr. Vaz says that the main challenge now facing the banks is the development of the financial market. In the past, the banks had a monopoly on the capital markets, but they are now facing several changes.

"Competition will be very tough because nonbanks, which will have limited costs and infrastructure, will be able to compete on rates and commissions," says Mr. Vaz.

Foreign banks are now showing a greater interest in Lebanon. "Before, they used to not come here," says Mr. Saidi. "The Dutch group ING is one of the latest to set up, and UBAF and Robert Fleming are opening representative offices. There are also a lot of others knocking on our doors, which is a good sign of confidence in us."

SIGN OF THE TIMES: BEIRUT STOCK EXCHANGE TO REOPEN

After 12 years of closure, Beirut's bourse opens for business.

One of the most significant developments on the economic and financial front is the reopening of the Beirut Stock Exchange after a closure of almost 12 years. During the last three months, intensive discussions have been taking place between the Stock Exchange Committee headed by Gabriel Sehnaoui, the central bank and the Ministry of Finance.

The exchange will be housed in a temporary building in the Hamra district of the city. The initial capitalization of the market is expected to be around \$4 billion, of which more than \$1.3 billion will be taken up by shares in Solidere, the construction group that will rebuild Beirut. These shares are currently the only ones traded through some of the banks. With the reopening of the market, about one dozen companies are expected to be listed.

One of region's oldest exchanges

The Beirut Stock Exchange, one of the oldest in the Middle East, was established in 1930. It was run by the then-French administration; trade was conducted with joint stock companies, which were also quoted on the Paris bourse. The bourse soon became the center of financial activity in the Levant. Until the civil war, which began in the mid-1970s, it was one of the best run and regulated markets in the Middle East.

"Beirut has always been an open market and will remain so," says Mr. Sehnaoui, adding that foreign companies will be able to seek a listing after the necessary legislation has been adopted. Possible regulations now being examined include tax-free dividends, capital repatriation and no restriction on capital flows.

Arthur Andersen has been advising the new market on a computerized trading system, which should lead to fast trading settlement. New accounting procedures are to be introduced next year for companies seeking a listing on the exchange.

"There have to be more disclosures by companies, the balance sheet must be more open, and quarterly reports must have to be published," says Mr. Sehnaoui. In a recent report, Baring Securities of London commented that the introduction of new transparency laws forcing companies to open their books may prove difficult "in a country that takes pride in its banking secrecy laws." Mr. Sehnaoui expects initial requests for listing to come from small and medium-sized companies wishing to increase their capital.



Gabriel Sehnaoui: "Beirut will remain an open market."

"I think the bigger companies will only seek a listing in order to gain some kind of credit rating," he adds.

Baring Securities, however, says that the stock exchange "will provide an important vehicle for Lebanese companies to raise capital for expansion or upgrading. The success of the \$650 million Solidere issue, which was 42 percent oversubscribed, has encouraged many companies to take this route. Already, some of Lebanon's biggest companies are planning primary issues for when the exchange opens."

Some of the companies due to upgrade their operations and to seek increased capitalization include Ciments Libanais and Sibline Cement. The Phoenix Inter-Continental Hotel may also raise some of its \$178 million refurbishment costs.

The opening may take place next month and will probably lead to an immediate increase in capital inflows. This is perceived by some as cause for concern unless Lebanon tightens its financial regulations to ensure that the market remains "clean."

This was the subject of much debate at a recent meeting in Beirut of the British Middle East Law Council and the Beirut Bar Association. "If Lebanon wants to grow into a sensible offshore financial-service center, it has to be seen to have the right safeguards," said Philip Newhouse of Taylor, Joynton and Garrett. He warned authorities not to forget the importance of regulations in their eagerness to develop the market.

Naoum M. Khattar, a member of the Beirut and Paris bar associations and an outspoken critic of existing regulations, said at the conference that lack of controls might attract money-laundering activities. He said millions of dollars could be transferred without question. "Here, a judge cannot summon you to disclose any information unless it is a case of death or bankruptcy," he said. M.F.

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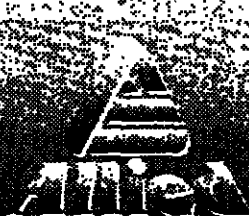
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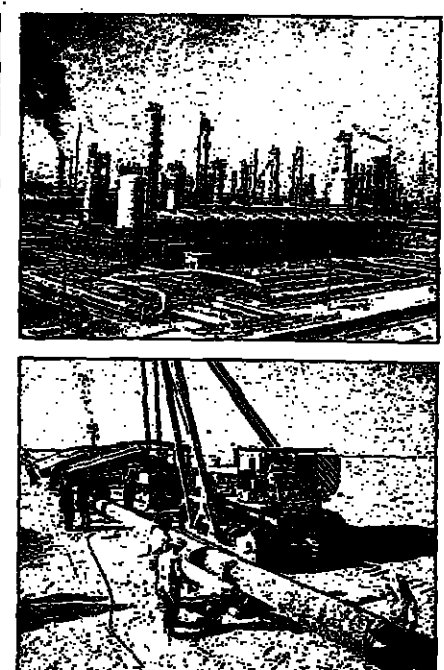
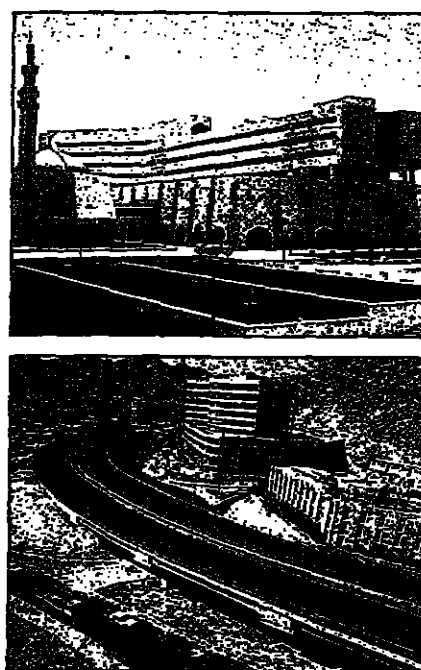
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مركزنا من الامم

LEBANON

WHERE THE MONEY COMES FROM

A look at the principal funding sources for Horizon 2000.

Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development	\$100.5 million	Electricity, housing and development
Saudi Arabia	\$130 million	Roads, education and health, housing
Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development	\$88.8 million	Electricity, water, telecommunications, education and youth welfare
Abu Dhabi Fund for Arab Economic Development	\$30 million	Housing and government buildings
Islamic Development Bank	\$36.9 million	Telecommunications, oil and gas, health, education, youth welfare
World Bank	\$175.5 million	Electricity, water and waste disposal, education, housing
European Investment Bank	\$171.5 million	Electricity, water, waste disposal, ports, education
United Nations Secretariat	\$6.5 million	Water, waste disposal, education, health, youth welfare
United Nations Development Program	\$6.6 million	Airport, education, culture, agriculture, irrigation
United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization	\$3.2 million	Agriculture and irrigation
International Fund for Agricultural Development	\$10.1 million	Agriculture and irrigation
OPEC Fund	\$15.2 million	Health, agriculture and irrigation, management
France	\$56.4 million	Electricity, telecommunications, water, and gas, ports, airports, education
Germany	\$600,000	Education
Italy	\$388.7 million	Electricity, telecommunications, water and waste disposal, transport and rail ways, airports, health and education
Japan	\$1.4 million	Education, youth welfare, agriculture
Oman	\$15 million	Education and culture
Qatar	\$1 million	Government buildings
Syria	\$1 million	Housing
United States	\$9 million	Health

Sources: Baring Securities and MEED

REBUILDING A NATION: WHO'LL FOOT THE BILL?

Altogether, it is estimated that more than \$16 billion will be needed over the 10-year period of the Horizon 2000 program.

Horizon 2000, Prime Minister Rafik Hariri's ambitious plan for the redevelopment of Lebanon's war-torn economy and infrastructure, has gotten off to a slow start.

The world's financial community, however, has shown considerable interest in the launching of Lebanon's first Eurobond for \$400 million, giving a much-needed kick-start to international funding operations as well as showing confidence in Mr. Hariri's policies. After the September cabinet budget meeting, Mr. Hariri said the bond issue was "a victory for Lebanon." The budget for 1995 has been fixed at 5.5 trillion Lebanese pounds (\$3.273 billion). Revenues are forecast at 3.145 billion Lebanese pounds, which is expected to reduce the overall budget deficit to 42.75 percent, compared with 45 percent last year.

Participating banks

The Eurobond, lead-managed by Merrill Lynch International of London, was increased from an initial \$150 million soon after launching. The 10.125 percent notes are due in 1997, and an application has been made to list them on the Luxem-

bourg Stock Exchange. Participating banks include Indosuez Capital, Paribas Capital Markets, J.P. Morgan Securities, Banque Audi (Suisse), Banque Saradar France, Fransabank (France), Arab Bank; Bear, Stearns Intl., Commerzbank Aktiengesellschaft, ING Bank, Nomura Intl., Banque Banorient (Suisse), Byblos Bank Belgium, Schroder Asseily & Co., Bankers Trust Intl., Chase Investment Bank, Gulf Investment Corporation, Republic New York (Britain) and Salomon Brothers Intl.

Capital expenditure in 1994 is expected to be around \$1 billion. During the 10-year plan, total costs at current prices will be \$14.3 billion; a further \$4.1 billion is slated to cover budget deficits during the initial two years so as to meet debt-repayment obligations.

The Council for Development and Reconstruction has the primary responsibility for Horizon 2000. CDR expects the private sector to invest \$19 billion during the plan period. In its August report on Lebanon, Baring Securities estimates that with Lebanese assets of \$30 billion to \$40

billion held overseas, "this seems an ambitious but not unrealistic figure." According to Banque du Liban, more than \$4 billion worth of overseas capital has been remitted during the past two years.

Total donor commitments for the initial three-year recovery program is about \$1.6 billion, of which \$251 million has still to be allocated. The largest single amount is \$389 million from Italy, followed by \$175 million from the World Bank. Another \$920 million from various sources, including \$160 million from the World Bank, is being negotiated.

Dealing with snags

Commenting on the funding, Mr. Hariri says that although Lebanon is trying to borrow from various Arab funds,



Prime Minister Rafik Hariri: "A victory for Lebanon."

the European Union and the World Bank, there are some snags. "Although the funds borrowed through these means are at lower interest rates and offer longer debt-servicing periods," he says, "there are conditions on their use that increase the cost of projects executed under them." M.F.



From art to reality: a poster showing a new boulevard, which will sweep through the city center down to the Mediterranean.

LEBANON RECREATES ITSELF

Continued from page 15

Mr. Hariri. "Subscriptions have already come in from almost 20 countries." Donor subscriptions for the first three-year recovery program in Horizon 2000 have so far risen to \$1.6 billion.

Support for Mr. Hariri's policies has come from a recent assessment of Lebanon made by Baring Securities of London. It comments on

the favorable economic indicators: Inflation has slumped from 131 percent in 1992 to 9 percent last year; real gross domestic product has expanded by 4 percent in 1992 and is likely to be between 5 percent and 7 percent by the end of this year; and foreign reserves have climbed steadily from \$660 million in 1990 to \$3.3 billion during the first half of this year. The report con-

cludes that "over the next decade, Lebanon should boom."

With peace being established throughout the Middle East region and a greatly renewed confidence and unity (apart from political-party sniping) within the country, there is every reason to believe that the good times will soon be there again for Lebanon.

Michael Frenchman

The Lebanese Renaissance

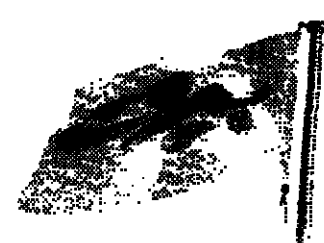
STARTING A NEW CHAPTER

By any measure, the development and reconstruction of the Beirut Central District is a most challenging undertaking. Because Beirut is not so much being rebuilt as it is being reborn. Brought into life by what has been described as probably the major urban development project of the 1990s- SOLIDERE is an integral part of Lebanon's current mood of positive thinking and economic recovery.

To those who are participating in turning the vision into reality, the rewards are supreme. Experienced business knows that success is not merely good results. It is, rather, the integration of bold ideas into a workable proposition for all: organizing an international design competition for the reconstruction of the souks; unearthing Byzantine, Roman and Phoenician archeological findings that, for centuries, have laid dormant in the grounds within; undertaking major marine works on reclaimed lands, and massive infrastructure developments worth hundreds of millions of dollars.

When a project is dedicated to the public and designed to improve the quality of life, there is no room for compromise. SOLIDERE will rejuvenate the capital city through reconstructing a Mediterranean urban environment, restoring its architectural heritage, installing an archeological park and building tree-lined promenades along the sea front. This is the business of SOLIDERE, to start a new chapter in the life of this 3,000-year-old city, with a total share capital of \$1.82 billion, the result of the association of property right holders and investors. In January of this year, SOLIDERE enjoyed the vote of confidence of 20,000 investors, raising \$650 million in cash.

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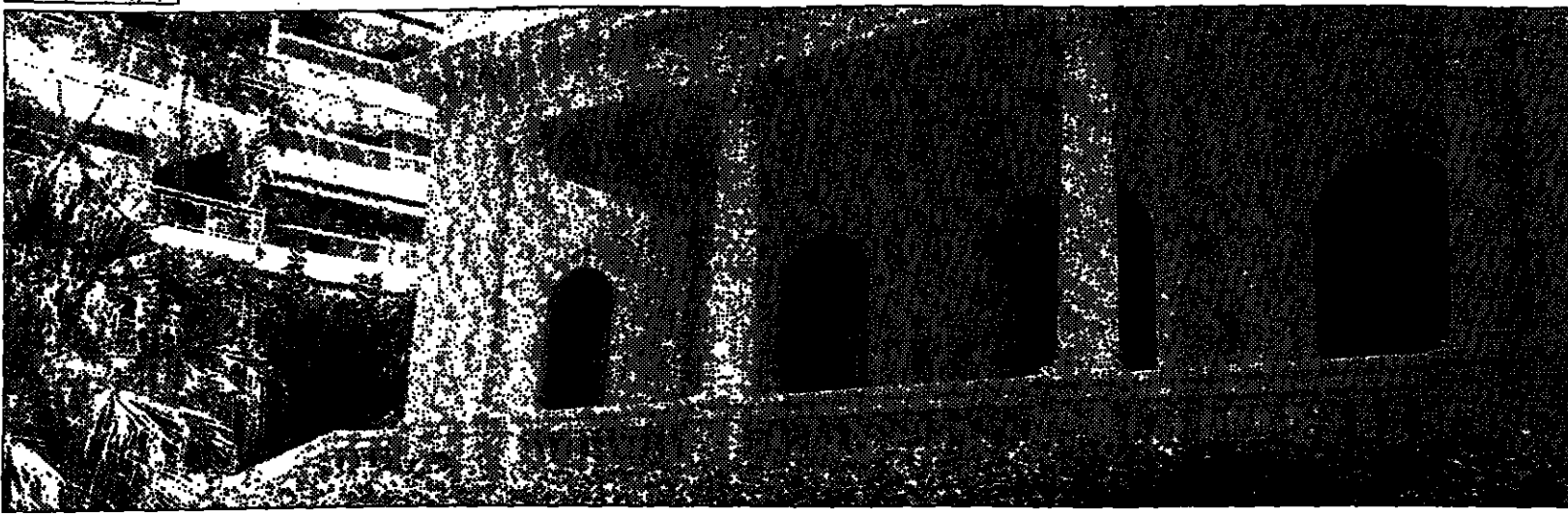


SOLIDERE

The Lebanese Company for the Development and Reconstruction of Beirut Central District S.A.L. Riad El Solh Street, Industry and Labor Bank Building, PO Box 119493, Beirut, Lebanon. Tel (9611) 346882, 646120/1/2/3, Cellular 1 (212) 4783916, Fax (9611) 646124.

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L E B A N O N



Banking in style: part of the old facade of Banque Audi, which has launched an ambitious recruitment drive.

ADVANTAGES OF DOING BUSINESS IN LEBANON

A survey of incentives and advantages for companies setting up operations in Lebanon.

Beirut business executives are optimistic about the future of Lebanon as a primary offshore center for the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. "We are expecting many more companies from outside Lebanon to come here because it is so much easier to manage a business from here than in other parts of the Middle East," says Najib A. Mikati, managing director of Investcom Holdings and a member of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry's economic council. His company, which is involved in the telecommunications business, has already expanded operations outside of the country. "About 50 percent of our business is done outside of Lebanon," says Mr. Mikati.

He admits that there are

some difficulties at the moment "while the infrastructure is being developed," but says that there will be opportunities in the future. Both Mr. Mikati and Naoum M. Khattar, a leading lawyer in Beirut, feel that few people outside Lebanon are aware of the advantages and incentives for companies wishing to set up a base in Lebanon.

Future in services

Most business executives believe that the future economic development of the country has to be in the services sector — banking and finance, offshore business and tourism. Maher Beydoun, vice chairman of Solidere, the private company that is to rebuild the city center, comments on the lack of raw materials and natural resources needed to

create a successful industrial or manufacturing base.

"Everything that is needed for any kind of processing or manufacturing operation has to be imported, and there is no point in that if we can import the finished goods or products at a cheaper price," says Mr. Beydoun. One great natural resource that does exist, he adds, is the Lebanese skill base in the professional classes. About 80,000 Lebanese have returned from overseas in the past two years.

Incentives and advantages

Legislation for the formation of holding and offshore companies has been in place since 1983. The biggest incentive introduced by the present government is the slashing of personal and corporation taxes to 10 percent.

The main incentives for companies incorporated in Lebanon include the following:

- A tax rate of 10 percent on profits, with no additional tax.
- A further reduction of 5 percent tax on profits resulting from buildings sold as apartments or from dwelling units.
- Individual and partner-

ship taxation set at a maximum of 10 percent.

- Freedom of exchange and repatriation of capital.
- The capital-gains tax is 6 percent, but gains on sales of shares are exempt.

• Branches of foreign companies are subject to Lebanese corporation tax plus a 5 percent withholding tax on net profits after distribution. Branches of foreign companies carrying on business outside of Lebanon are exempt from corporation tax.

- No tax on operations carried out in the free zone.
- No export or import duties on goods or materials used in the free zone.

• Ten-year tax-free holiday for new businesses with new products.

• Seven-year tax-free holiday for banks.

Incentives for holding companies include the following:

- Profits and dividends of holding companies are tax exempt.
- Management fees and other services rendered by the holding company to its subsidiaries in Lebanon are subject to a 12 percent tax.

Offshore companies are offered the following incentives:

- Profits of offshore companies are tax-exempt, but companies must pay a flat fee of 1 million Lebanese pounds (about \$600).
- No stamp duty on contracts.
- Tax-free dividends.

Secrecy laws

A strength of the Lebanese financial sector is its secrecy laws governing banking procedures; these laws are considered among the toughest in the world. Numbered accounts are available where the customer's name is known only to the bank manager. Absolute secrecy is provided for in the 1956 banking law, which states that there can be no disclosure in the private, public, military or judicial sectors without the written authority of the client or his or her heirs, except where the person has been declared bankrupt or in the case of litigation with a bank.

"Doing Business in the Lebanon," published jointly by the Beirut Chamber of Commerce and Industry and BDO Fiduciaire du Moyen-Orient (P.O. Box 110-165, Beirut), provides some useful background to the legal business environment. M.F.

FINANCE TAKES CENTER STAGE

The country is set to regain its role as a regional financial center.

Lebanon has been known for successful financial services, and its bankers have few doubts that the country can regain and expand its role as a regional banking center. "If we survived the war and prospered, we will survive the peace," asserts Naaman Azhari, chairman of Banque du Liban et l'Outre Mer (BLOM).

Like most banks, BLOM moved most of its activities out of Lebanon during the war as a matter of survival. It found it was able to keep a good expatriate Lebanese and Arab client base and to grow steadily. Deposits have grown from \$153 million in 1974 to \$2 billion today. Mr. Azhari is confident that regional money will now flow to Lebanon for new investment, particularly after the success of the Solidere issue.

Bankers agree that the sector retains the strengths that made it such a regional force in the 1970s. These strengths include a long tradition of secrecy, a liberal economic environment combined with strong central bank supervision, and staff whose skills have been sharpened by experience in Europe and the United States.

At present, there is an imbalance between large and small players in the market, with 25 banks taking around 80 percent of total deposits of \$9.2 billion. A combination of central bank policy and market forces, however, is likely to result in mergers over the next few years.

For the past 20 years, the focus for the Jammal Trust bank has been on two of the world's largest cities, London and Cairo. Now, as the reconstruction gathers steam, it is turning its attention back home. Chairman Ali Jammal plans a major drive at home to establish new branches in the most remote areas of Lebanon. Mr. Jammal says that this will bring services to the people in poorly served areas and leave the bank well placed for new business as Lebanon's development takes a more balanced geographical shape.

The second strand in the bank's 1995 program will be to revive its contacts with the expatriate Lebanese communities in West Africa; these communities were the basis of the bank's original strength. While Mr. Jammal does see a regional role for the Lebanese banks, he feels that if Lebanon is developed as planned, the country will remain at the center of attention for the foreseeable future.

Search for new products

Despite the strength and flexibility shown by the banking sector, activity is largely limited to short-term lending, mainly for trade, and banks are only now beginning to look for new products to attract investment capital and broaden services to customers.

Money is coming into Lebanon for real estate activity, says Mr. Azhari, but the need

to increase Lebanon's appeal for Arab investment in industry, tourism and other productive sectors has prompted the bank to establish its own investment arm under the name of Banque d'Affaires du Liban et l'Outre Mer.

Lebanon's oldest bank, Fransabank, is taking a different tack with the launching of the country's first leasing company. The Lebanese Leasing Company is 75 percent owned by the bank in partnership with France's Crédit Agricole and the IFC, with a small group of individual investors holding the remaining 25 percent.

The response is good

Nadim Moukheiber, advisor to the chairman of Fransabank, says that funds available for investment are still limited and that more money is needed to fund reconstruction. LLC will cover a full range of industrial and construction equipment from a value of \$50,000 and above. Mr. Moukheiber says that as the first company in the market, LLC is already drawing a good response. It has had numerous applications, mostly from public-works contractors, hospitals, and printing-machine and computer-hardware dealers and users.

While the banks are taking their first steps to develop new services, Capital and Investment Services has successfully launched Lebanon's first derivative product in the form of Lebanese Treasury-linked securities. The first two securities of a planned series of up to 30 issues were launched in May. CIS General Manager Ghassan Geagea believes their acceptance by foreign financial circles will boost local confidence.

Mr. Geagea says that CIS has devised a product to attract the big international funds being set up for the Middle East. Solidere has awakened international interest in Lebanon, and when CIS marketed the securities to institutional and individual investors, they attracted a mixture of expatriate Lebanese and institutional money.

Mr. Geagea is one of the many Lebanese bankers who have returned home after years of working in Europe. He has no doubts about the future. "You have to believe in your country," he says. "You have to believe that you can achieve something." He points out that Lebanon's private economy and banking system have always been strong. With regional peace and stability, he adds, money will be available.

CIS is looking ahead to new developments, including a leasing company and financing for the low-income housing sector. Farther down the line, Mr. Geagea sees a key role for the financial sector in supporting the government's privatization plans.

P.D.

\$500 MILLION TELECOM PROJECT

It is far easier to use a cellular-phone link via a New York number to call almost anywhere in the world than it is to use a local telephone to talk to a neighboring office in downtown Beirut. This situation may soon come to end.

As part of Prime Minister Rafik Hariri's policy of making Beirut the leading Middle East business center, maximum priority is now being given to restoring the country's telecommunications network. Considerable strides have already been made in the past 12 months since work began on repairing and extending the two main exchanges.

Existing mechanical lines are gradually being replaced by mainly digital systems, including 800,000 new digital lines; this will provide the

country with a total of 1.2 million lines. The contract value for the project is more than \$500 million. Broken up into several parts, the contract has been awarded to Siemens, Alcatel and Ericsson. Much of the project will be completed by the end of 1997.

Alcatel has a \$130.7 million contract to repair 225,000 lines and provide fiber-optic cables, digital links and microwave systems.

Ericsson has a \$147 million contract to provide 225,000 lines, and Siemens has won a \$153 million contract to set up a local network of 350,000 lines.

The refurbishment of the telecommunications network is being managed by Norway's Norconsult, which won the \$13 million

contract in the face of stiff competition. Jarle Strand, Norconsult's regional manager in Beirut, says that his company had the edge over others probably "because we are truly independent and no longer have a telecommunications industry in Norway."

France Telecom and have won contracts for a privately financed 600,000-line cellular global system for mobile (GSM) telephones in one of the first build-operate-transfer contracts. France Telecom has a BOT contract valued at \$30 million to cover the installation of 250,000 lines.

Approximately 6,000 subscribers will be on line with the new GSM within the next six months. Lionel Coussi of France Telecom in Beirut says he hopes to be able to offer GSM coverage over 70 percent of Lebanon within six months and over the whole country by the end of next year. Ericsson is providing half of the 100 base stations that will be needed.

BOT contracts

The start-up time for the BOT contract is likely to be in December. "This is a very rare kind of contract and one of the first of this size," says Mr. Coussi, adding that one of the risks is the fast-changing telecommunications technology. Equipment provided today could become obsolete in 10 years.

Speaking of the cellular-phone sector, Ghassan Assi, marketing manager for Libancell, says that it is challenging to introduce 21st-century technology into a situation where even conventional services have been erratic for the past 20 years. With two companies entering the market together, Mr. Assi is looking to strong competition — not in basic prices, which have been set by the government, but in the provision of enhanced services. He also looks forward to the strengthening of the fixed line network, which will open up new possibilities for advanced services between mobiles and fixed lines, including E-mail and calling line identification.

M.F.

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مكتبة من الامم

LEBANON

BEIRUT: NEW TWIST ON OLD CENTER

Charged with rebuilding the capital's central district, Solidere now stands at the heart of Beirut.

The Lebanese Company for the Development and Reconstruction of the Beirut Central District, known as Solidere, was formally established as a joint-stock corporation in May 1994. It is charged with the rebuilding of Beirut's central business district, the scene of some of the worst destruction during the civil war. "This is the place that all Lebanese relate to more than anywhere else," says Solidere Chairman and General Manager Nasser Chammas. Planning and replanning for the project has been under way for three years, and the company is now anxious to get to work. "We want this place to be attractive and habitable within three years," says Mr. Chammas. The new central business district will not be just a faithful restoration of the old one. For a start, the new dis-

trict will be substantially larger than the previous one. Solidere's original development area has grown from 1.2 million square meters (about 13 million square feet) to 1.8 million square meters with the addition of part of a major reclamation project, now under way on a former rubbish dump on the seafront.

Consultants Dar Al Handasah have been involved in the Solidere project since its inception. The company was commissioned in February 1991 by the Council for Development and Reconstruction to prepare an overall master plan for the central district. Robert Solomon, director of Dar Al Handasah's economic department, says that the company "wanted to establish a framework for private-sector activity that would keep the features of the old city, open up its ar-

chaeological remains and maintain its established streetscape."

Modern urban planning The new center will incorporate the highest standards of modern urban planning in areas such as fire and seismic safety as well as ease of access for traffic and pedestrians. With the creation of "vistas" that open the city streets to views of both sea and mountains, and the introduction of parks, marinas and seafront walks, the company hopes to give the city a feeling of space and comfort that will make it unique as a modern urban center.

The overall reconstruction is expected to take 10 years, but a first phase is already under way. Bulldozers are at work to clear buildings that cannot be saved, in preparation for a \$60 million project to give the area a complete infrastructure upgrade.

Solidere has earmarked five 1920s buildings for immediate restoration to give private owners a lead. Overall, 260 buildings have been marked for rehabilitation. To prevent owners from holding on to buildings for speculative purposes, they have two years to restore the facades to prewar standards. A major tender has also been issued for work on seawalls to protect the new reclamation areas.

On a human scale What the company and the people of Beirut are hoping for is a city center that retains the flavor and human scale of the old, with infrastructure and amenities to suit the 21st century.

"This is not just any piece of land," says Ramez Maluf, Solidere's public information officer. "It is the heart of the city, the meeting point for all of Lebanon's communities and the essential place for anyone wanting to do business with all sides."

In establishing a single private company to carry out the reconstruction, planners took a daring approach to the problems of complex ownership of the area and the scale of the work needed. Not all Lebanese agree with this approach; the project's detractors range from disgruntled former owners to religious opponents of any form of property confiscation. Others are just uncertain about the size and ambition of the scheme, although Solidere has invested considerable time and effort in public presentations and discussions of its ideas and plans.

Three in one The company has also had to maintain flexibility in its planning approach. A major international competition for a design for the restoration of the traditional souks of Beirut brought hundreds of entries but no first-prize winner, just three third places.

"Between them, they offered us an architectural statement, an effort to recapture the spirit of the city with a mix of old and new and a practical response to the need for modern facilities and access," says Mr. Maluf. "We wanted all three in one." He hopes the three third-place winners can now work together on a new scheme that will fit the bill.

The proof of the entire undertaking can only come with its success in getting work started on the ground. Solidere is very aware of the rapidly changing regional situation and wants results as soon as possible. "Our greatest fear is that we will not get the infrastructure done in time," says Mr. Chammas. "The eyes of the whole country are on this project. If we succeed, it will be a major contribution to the recovery of Lebanon."

Pamela Dougherty



The glitter is back: New businesses are sprouting all over the country, many based on strong points such as clothing and fine jewelry.

INDUSTRY FIGHTS TO SECURE ITS HOLD

Lebanon is known for its service-based economy, but industry is regaining its strength.

Lebanese industrialists have been fighting hard for their sector — and they are having some success. Industrial exports in the first half of 1994 reached \$138 million, a rise of 5.6 percent over the same period in 1993. An estimated 35 percent of all factories have been re-equipped since the end of the war. Also coming on-line are new enterprises, most of which build on Lebanon's traditional strengths in ready-made clothing, food processing, pharmaceuticals, building materials, printing, packaging and quality jewelry.

Jacques Sarraf, president of the Lebanese Industrialists Association, is in a confident mood. Even in a service economy, he says, there has to be an industrial base. Mr. Sarraf's viewpoint is backed up by the experience of major tile producer Unicem. Elie Sassine, the company's purchasing manager, says that three years ago, 15 percent of the company's 1.5-million-square-meter (16-million-square-foot) annual production went to the local market. Now, as the rebuilding process gathers steam, 40 percent of its current 3-million-square-meter production is sold at home. The company aims to increase local sales to 75 percent of production.

Companies are only beginning to recover from the effects of the war. Manifesting traditional Lebanese resilience, many companies were quick to relocate as fighting broke out; they continued to produce and export throughout the conflict. Nevertheless, as many as 200 enterprises were destroyed in 1989-90 alone.

Access to credit is tight as banks still offer only short-term and mainly trade finance. The situation should improve with the reorganization of the formerly government-owned Industrial Development Bank. IDB will have 80 percent private-sector ownership, but the government will guarantee loans up to 20 times its \$20 million capital. The IFC is also showing confidence in Lebanon and has provided substantial funding to industry over the past year.

Profiting from peace Peace and stability have brought industry a unified internal market, better access to international markets and the gradual return of skilled workers. Industrialists would like more government support for the sector, possibly through a reformed customs regime. At present, imports are assessed against a

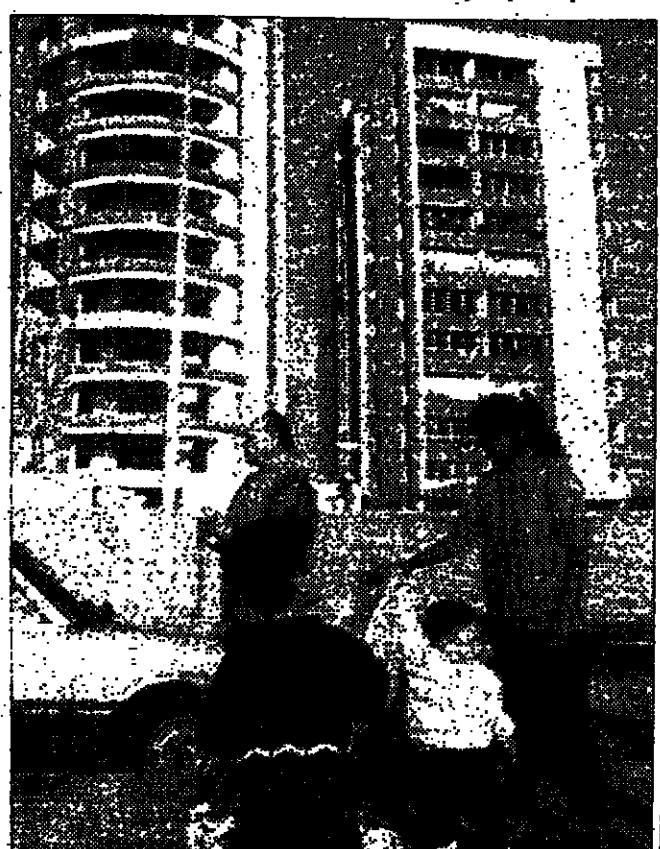
dollar valued at 800 Lebanese pounds; the market rate is 1,680 Lebanese pounds, thus undervaluing imports for customs purposes.

Unicem President Joseph Ghorra is concerned with standards. He would like to see standards set for both local and imported goods. This would help local products find better export markets and end the dumping of substandard foreign goods.

The government has been quick to act in some areas. In 1993, when Lebanon's cement companies were struggling to keep up with demand, it contracted major cement handler Seament to provide 1.5 million tons of cement for the market. Using a floating terminal at Selaata, north of Beirut, and a fleet of 12 bulk carriers, Seament will bring in and distribute 500,000 tons of cement by the end of 1994, thus guaranteeing supply and stabilizing prices.

Demand for 1995 is "anybody's guess," says Seament Managing Director Jacques Schnaoui, "but the essence of the business is to walk in and supply in areas where business cannot wait for the start-up or expansion of a plant. We could provide 10,000 tons per day if needed."

P.J.D.



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One of the 11 mosques and other buildings in the city center that are to be preserved.



\$16 BILLION BLUEPRINT FOR NEXT CENTURY

A survey of Horizon 2000's ambitious goals and projects.

Lebanon's Council for Development and Reconstruction (CDR) has a simple brief—rebuild Lebanon well and quickly and at a cost that will not leave the country overburdened by debt.

The CDR was established in 1977, but it really came to life with the appointment of Rafik Hariri as prime minister in 1992. Its original job of overseeing the rehabilitation of Lebanon's physical infrastructure was quickly expanded to include the formulation of an ambitious scheme, Horizon 2000. The project will equip the entire country with an infrastructure for the 21st century, rebuild government administrative capacities, and create the social infrastructure needed to produce an educated and united population.

Sectoral rebuilding

The CDR plays a unique role as both a planning and implementing agency, cutting across the traditional responsibilities of government ministries. Seventeen years of war have left Lebanon's government structures as well as its buildings in ruins. The sectoral rebuilding now under way is accompanied by the establishment of sector-implementation units, whose job is to oversee the construction work and to develop new administrative structures for each ministry.

Horizon 2000 has gone through several stages, but it is currently being presented to Parliament as a \$16 billion program beginning in 1995 and running until the year 2007; several of the projects included in it, however, are already being implemented.

CDR Secretary General Nohad Baroudi says that as 1994 ends, more than 400 contracts for consultancy and construction, worth around \$1.7 billion, have already been signed; a further \$3.7 billion worth of work will be conducted by May 1995.

Projects range from the massive \$580 million rehabilitation and expansion of the fixed-telephone network and the \$515 million Beirut peripheral-roads scheme to a \$7 million

project to provide seven villages in the Akkar district with electricity for the first time in their history.

Benefits already felt

The program combines urgently needed rehabilitation with long-term development. Mr. Baroudi says that benefits are already being felt. Electricity supply has improved from an average of 12 hours a day to 15 hours a day, and it should reach 18 hours daily once a \$263 million rehabilitation project is completed in May 1995. Telephone connections are improving, rising by 12 percent in 1993 to reach 800,000, but they are still far from the 1975 total of 1.5 million. Meanwhile, lower-than-expected growth and strong competition in 1994 have left the airline facing a further \$10 million loss.

The MEA board has now gone to its shareholders for a \$150 million injection of capital. Shareholders include Air France, the Intra Investment Company (45 percent owned by the Lebanese government), and Kuwaiti and Qatari interests. The money is needed to upgrade a fleet that consists of 10 707s, now seriously uneconomical by modern standards, three 747s and two Airbus 320s.

Figures of \$16 billion frighten many Lebanese, who fear that their country could be embarking on the traditional Third World path to crippling indebtedness. Mr. Baroudi counters such fears with reference to the care taken to ensure that the bulk of the cost will be covered by local revenues; he also cites the CDR's willingness to extend the lead time of major projects to ease the pressure on public finances. He emphasizes that a fundamental goal of the entire program is to get the private sector going at full speed. "The private sector has always generated 85 percent to 90 percent of Lebanon's national income," he says. "We want to see the government's \$16 billion matched by double that amount in private money."

P.D.

GETTING AIRLINES OFF THE GROUND

Lebanon's airlines, like its economy, begin to take off.

We have started losing time, and time is of the essence in aviation," says Abdel Hamid Fakhoury, chairman and president of Middle East Airlines (MEA). After 20 years of the disruptions of war, Mr. Fakhoury is impatient to move on and see the airline regain its role in the region. "We must not use the war as an excuse for what is happening now," he says. "We have to get back to our old level of quality."

MEA faces serious hurdles in achieving that goal, not the least of which are the accumulated losses of \$220 million and an aging fleet. Passenger numbers are improving, rising by 12 percent in 1993 to reach 800,000, but they are still far from the 1975 total of 1.5 million. Meanwhile, lower-than-expected growth and strong competition in 1994 have left the airline facing a further \$10 million loss.

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P.D.

CONTRACTS

RECONSTRUCTION

The Council for Development and Reconstruction is responsible for reconstruction in all sectors throughout Lebanon. By November 1994, \$1.7 billion worth of contracts had been signed, and a further \$3.3 billion should be signed by May 1995. Major projects include the following:

Electricity

Rehabilitation

Emergency rehabilitation of existing generation plants, transmission systems and distribution networks. A contract for approximately 400 megawatts to date, rising to 720 megawatts by April 1995 and to 1,050 megawatts by March 1995. Value: \$60 million.

Transmission system to be rehabilitated by end March 1995. Contract to Hyundai of South Korea. Value: \$80 million.

Distribution networks. Greater Beirut contract to Clemessy. Value: \$42 million. Regions contract to Bouygues of France. Value: \$51 million. Both due for completion by March 1995.

Expansion

Generation. Contracts are due for the construction of two new combined-cycle generating plants at Zahra and Beddawi. Due for completion by June 1997. They will add another 870 megawatts. Value: \$720 million.

Transmission and distribution. Contractors have been invited to prepare for the expansion of the transmission system. Estimated value: \$200 million to \$250 million.

Consultancies

Sector Implementation Unit. The Electricity Supply Board of Ireland has a \$4 million contract to assist Electricite du Liban (EDL) in the planning and management of the investment program for the electricity sector.

Supervision of works. Electricite de France (EDF) has a \$6.8 million contract for supervision of rehabilitation contracts for all electrical sectors.

Assistance to EDL management. EDF has a \$3.3 million contract to assist EDL in organizing and developing new business procedures.

Telecommunications

Rehabilitation and Expansion

Public Switched Telephone Network (PSTN) rehabilitation and expansion. Supply and installation of digital exchanges for a total of 976,000 lines, including 271,000 lines in Beirut North (Norte) (CIT), 284,000 lines in South Beirut (Sud), Lebanon 1 (Eriqsson), 421,000 lines in Beirut, Lebanon 2 and 3 (Siemens).

Transmission and outside plant for PSTN project. Contracts awarded to Alcatel of France, Ericsson of Sweden and Siemens of Germany. Value: \$130.7 million.

Global System for Mobile Communications. Contracts were signed in July 1994 with France Telecom Mobiles and Telecom Finland International. Operation will take place through operating companies formed with local investors. TFI has formed Liban GSM, and TFI has established France Telecom Mobiles Liban S.M. (FTML). Contracts are BOT (build-operate-transfer) for a period of 12 years, with both companies required to provide capacity for 30,000 subscribers after six months.

Consultancies

Preparation of tender documents and supervision of works for the PSTN and the GSM. Norconsult of Norway has a \$13 million contract for two years from July 1993.

Study of the organizational structure, regulations and future institutional setup of the telecommunications sector. Britain's Deloitte & Touche has a \$1.5 million contract for the study.

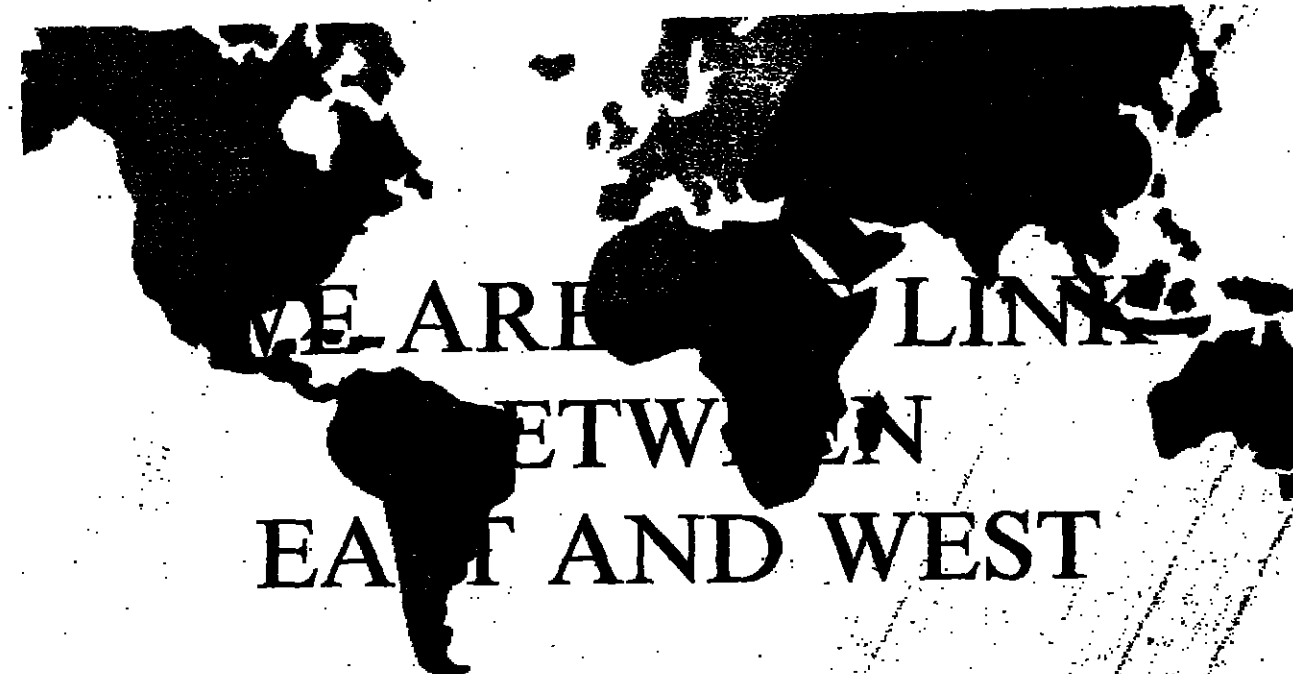
Management of the telecommunications sector for three years. Negotiations are under way for an estimated \$6 million contract.

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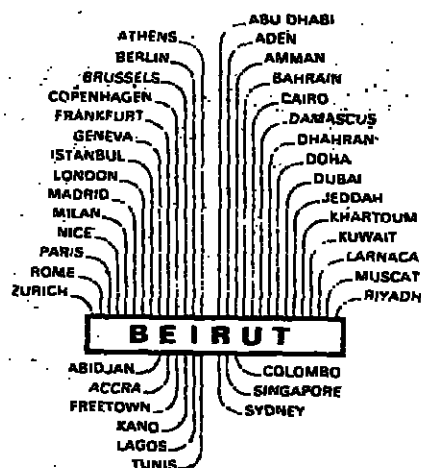
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L E B A N O N



CONTRACTS

RECONSTRUCTION

TRANSPORT

Roads

Northern and Southern Beirut suburbs. Design contracts were awarded in October 1993. Seventeen works contracts worth \$80 million have been awarded.

Beirut circular route and access roads. Design contracts were awarded in December 1993. Total value of the project is estimated at \$515 million.

Consultancy contract for supervision of works. Awarded to Dar Al Handasah (Shair & Partners), value \$4.7 million; ACE, value \$4 million; and Khatib & Alami, value \$4.4 million.

Road maintenance and rehabilitation of Lebanon road network. Proposals for the initial \$350 million five-year plan are under study. Funding will come partially from the World Bank.

Airport

New west runway and main buildings, duty-free area and airport hotel. Joint venture of Consolidated Contractors Company of Lebanon and Hochtief of Germany. Value: \$555 million.

New east runway. Contract to Karagula of Lebanon. Value: \$14 million.

Consultancy for design and supervision for completion of passenger terminal, new facilities and new runway works. Awarded to Dar Al Handasah. Value: \$13 million.

Beirut Port

Design for port storage areas, buildings and services. Consortium of Rafic Khoury, Alexander Gibb, Duvivier, Port of Felixtow, Delit.

Marine works design. By SOGREAH. Port of Beirut. Project value: \$123 million.

Consultancy contract for supervision of works. Awarded to Port Autonome de Marseille of France. Value: \$1.5 million.

Consultancy

Sector Implementation Unit. Denmark's Dan Group has a \$2.7 million, three-year contract for consultancy to enhance the management capacity of the Ministry of Public Works for public buildings and roads projects from May 1994.

WATER, WASTE WATER AND IRRIGATION

Year I rehabilitation contracts. In progress throughout Lebanon to repair the most serious damage to water and sewerage systems. Due for completion by May 1995.

Rehabilitation and extension of Dbyeh water-treatment works. Year II and III water and wastewater rehabilitation

works inside and outside Beirut are under study. Value of work estimated at \$140 million.

Ghadir wastewater treatment plant. Lebanon's Ace has a \$632,000 contract for the design and supervision of the plant. Construction is due for completion by end 1995.

Feasibility studies for Tyre, Saida and Kesrouan wastewater networks and treatment plants. Construction to start by end 1995 or early 1996.

Irrigation works. Due to begin early 1995 on schemes in Qasmieh (\$8 million) Yam-mouneh (\$6.3 million) and the southern Bekaa (\$13.6 million). Some 25 smaller irrigation schemes with a total value of \$16.5 million are also scheduled to start in 1995.

Sector implementation unit. Britain's Dnie & Partners has a \$6.4 million contract.

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

Rehabilitation of public schools is an ongoing program, involving work at more than 1,200 schools at a cost of more than \$44 million.

Public schools grouping project. A master plan for the regrouping and overhaul of the public-school system has been completed by the local Samir Khairallah & Partners. The \$1.3 billion program will provide places for 800,000 students at all levels, from kindergarten to secondary school, and will involve the provision of 1,526 new schools in 766 locations.

Sports City. The \$50 million first phase of reconstruction was awarded to Britain's Trafalgar House in August 1994 and is due for completion in early 1996. A \$63 million second phase is planned to begin in 1995.

Lebanese University. A \$10.9 million contract has been awarded for the rehabilitation of the faculty of science.

HEALTH FACILITIES

Beirut Governmental University Hospital. Design work completed by Spectrum. Tenders have been issued for construction work, estimated at around \$53.5 million.

Halba, Hermal and Sibline hospitals. Consultants have been appointed for design and supervision. Construction contracts are expected by end 1994 or early 1995, with work to be completed within 18 months.

Hospital Equipment. The local company Ace has a contract for the preparation of tender documents for equipment for the Quarantina hospital, Tripoli hospital, health centers in north Lebanon and a health training center. P.D.

AS TOURISTS RETURN, HOTELS PREPARE FOR BRISK BUSINESS

Lebanon's hotels undergo extensive restoration.

Last month, an international construction exhibition called "Rebuild Lebanon" attracted 230 companies from 26 nations. More than 10,000 persons visited the show, which was organized by Fairs and Exhibitions of London. As a result, Beirut's four- and five-star hotels, which have a total of only about 1,000 rooms, were filled to capacity, demonstrating the desperate need for more accommodation.

"Exhibitions like this are terribly important for us," says Wahid Raja Saab, chairman and general manager of the seafarnt Summerland Hotel, currently the most luxurious of the city's traditional hotels. "I do not think there are any new hotels being planned for the immediate future, but many of the old ones are being renovated and restored."

With its large pool, private beach and small shopping plaza, the Summerland is a world of its own. It has strict security at the driveway entrance.

Trickling in

With the return of normality to the city and most of the country, there is now a steady trickle of tourists, who come mainly from France, Germany, Italy and Russia. Before the civil war, tourism contributed about 20 percent of the gross national product.

The number of tourists is expected to increase as various international cultural events take place. The most famous of these is the annual Baalbeck Festival.

Smaller events are being staged at the Al Bustan Hotel, located high in the mountains. It has one of the most spectacular views of Beirut from its Scottish Bar. Last February's International Festival of Performing Arts was a sell-out, and plans are well advanced for next year's festival. The Al Bustan Hotel has 54 rooms, and its combined convention facilities can accommodate up to 1,000 persons.

Expensive rooms. The Beirut seafarnt was dominated by high-rise hotel

blocks managed by many of the international chains. Today, hotels like the Hilton and Inter-Continental Phoenicia remain towering wrecks. Work on a \$178 million refurbishment of the Inter-Continental is expected to begin shortly, after many delays.

One hotel on the seafarnt that is open for business is the Riviera (125 rooms). The Bristol, with its bunker-like restaurant in the basement, kept going through the thick and thin of the civil war. Now under new management, it is re-inventing itself as a luxurious business and tourist hotel as well as a smart meeting place for Beirut society. The hotel is undergoing a multimillion-dollar refurbishment. The number of rooms will drop, from 180 to 140, as more suites and bigger rooms are created. "In today's world, with so many sleeping factories, people appreciate small jewels where guests are pampered," says Mr. Schallig.

The Bristol offers business guests an Executive Business Club and rooms equipped for all electronic equipment.

The basement restaurant is on its way to becoming a smart brasserie-cum-pub, offering 24-hour-a-day service, while the Bristol's famous but long unused sub-basement skating rink will give way to a swimming pool and fitness center. "This city has a spirit that cannot be killed," says Mr. Schallig.

The Bristol is conveniently placed for the Hamra district of the city center, which is also home to the American University of Beirut. Hamra has a number of smaller hotels, including the Royal Garden, Wiener House and the Berkeley; the latter has no restaurant but offers rooms and apartments with kitchen facilities.

Another Beirut hotel is the four-star Hotel Alexandre, which offers 230 rooms and facilities for the business traveler.

Hotels are expensive, and good rooms are hard to find for less than \$100 a night. M.F.



Baalbeck, site of Lebanon's best-known international cultural festival.

EXPANSION TAKES OFF AT BEIRUT AIRPORT

The upgrade at Beirut's airport mirrors Lebanon's ambitions to become a major hub in the Middle East.

Around 1.2 million passengers used Beirut's airport in 1993. By the year 2015, the airport should be able to handle 16 million travelers comfortably.

A joint venture of the Athens-based Consolidated Contractors Company and Germany's Hochtief is already working on a \$560 million, four-year contract that will equip the airport to serve 6 million passengers by 1998, with further expansion to be carried out in fixed stages.

Despite the ambitious numbers, this is not a prestige project but a hard-headed, practical plan to give Lebanon an airport that will fit its ambitions to serve as a major financial, commercial and tourist center in the Middle East.

The project emphasizes safety, efficiency and practicality. With the construction of 10,000 square meters (about 108,000 square feet) of duty-free shops and a transit hotel incorporated into the first phase, the project should be helping to pay for itself long before the full expansion is completed.

Nabil Nassar of project

consultants Dar Al Handasah believes that, with facilities in other regional centers such as Cairo and Dubai handling 6 million passengers in 1992, Beirut cannot afford to do less. He says the master plan for the airport is designed to allow a logical progression for expected developments, according to what the site can handle.

A key early element is the relocation of the west runway, which will create more space, curb noise from incoming flights and allow more high-rise buildings in the area around the airport.

When Dar Al Handasah first looked at the project, they found an existing 1978-80 plan for 6 million passengers; around 25 percent of the work had actually been completed.

They came back with a new design that took into account the growth of Beirut and the requirements of modern aviation, including private aviation, VIP terminals, and cargo, catering and civil-aviation facilities. The overall design includes the rehabilitation of existing structures covering 5,600 square meters; the building

of a seven-floor, 94,000-square-meter building; and a 2,000-place parking lot.

Returning home

For contractors CCC, the airport project marks a return to the company's original base. War forced CCC to relocate. Athens and encouraged it to develop an international profile. Today, however, CCC is looking to Beirut as the center for its regional operations.

P.D.

"We have become an international company with operations in the United States and the Far East, and this will continue," says CCC's Fawzi Kawash. "But we would love to have a regional office in Beirut." CCC is refurbishing its existing Beirut office, and it has purchased land for new offices.

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SPORTS

ATP Foresees a Slowdown in Tennis's Future

By Christopher Clarey

Special to the Herald Tribune

FRANKFURT — Pete Sampras and Boris Becker did indeed play serve and volley in the final of the ATP Tour World Championship on Sunday. But if tennis officials have their druthers, serving and volleying will no longer be the vastly superior route to indoor success.

Expressing delight with the late-season trend toward slower surfaces and less lively balls, Mark Miles, the ATP Tour's chief executive officer, announced in Frankfurt that the tour would try to regulate the speed of the indoor game by developing standards for courts and balls that could be implemented by 1996.

Miles also said the British Lawn Tennis Association had agreed to work with the tour to test balls that might make the game slower on grass courts.

"We want to enhance tennis on our faster surfaces," he said.

The indoor game has drawn considerable criticism in recent years, as the

combination of more powerful rackets and bigger, fitter players often has transformed matches into serving contests bereft of compelling exchanges.

During this tournament in 1992, Jim Courier shouted out "boring tennis" during one such encounter with Richard Krajicek. Last year, the tournament director, Zeljko Franulovic, responded by laying down a slightly slower version of the GreenSet Trophy surface, and the spectacle improved.

A similar approach was adopted by the Paris Open indoor tournament after hard-serving Goran Ivanisevic was whistled by the crowd during the 1993 final as he hit ace after ace on his way to victory. This November, with heavier balls and a slower surface, rallies were considerably longer, shotmaking was more varied and hardly a whistle was heard as four aggressive baseliners reached the semifinals: Sergi Bruguera, Michael Chang, Marc Rosset and Andre Agassi, the eventual winner.

"This is proof that we should not look to change the rules of tennis but work

with the combination of surface and balls," said Patrice Clerc, the Paris Open tournament director.

Just a week earlier, at the Stockholm Open on an extremely quick indoor surface, the semifinalists were all big servers: Michael Stich, Sampras, Ivanisevic and Becker, the eventual winner. Despite the difference in their results, some of those same big servers, including Stich and Sampras, expressed their support for the slower surfaces used this fall in Vienna, Lyon and Paris.

"I think the game needs to be slowed down a little bit because playing in Stockholm and Antwerp, it is just too fast," Sampras said last week. "It is probably not fun to watch, and it is really not fun to play on, to tell you the truth."

The GreenSet surface in Frankfurt, considered somewhat quicker than the Taraflex used in Paris, did not necessarily negate the importance of the well-placed first serve. Becker still managed to smack 76 aces in five matches, including 30 in the final. But such slower surfaces do appear to cut down on sec-

ond-serve winners and encourage baseliners by making it a riskier proposition for players to attack the net after their second serves.

It remains to be seen whether the changes end up tipping the balance of power too much in the favor of attacking baseliners with good passing shots like Agassi and Rosset, who won in Lyon in October. For now, the ATP's challenge is to develop a foolproof measuring stick.

According to Miles, a group of French researchers working in conjunction with the French Tennis Federation have developed a device that can gauge court speed. It was tested in Lyon and reportedly received good reviews.

"We believe it will be perfected in the next weeks and ready for us to use," said Miles, who emphasized that the tour had no plans to favor one court manufacturer or one type of indoor surface.

He said the "model" was what had been used in Paris and in Frankfurt. "We think we can have true standards by 1996," he added.

Police Allow FA to Give Evidence to Grobbelaar

The Associated Press

LIVERPOOL — English soccer officials can turn over their evidence against Bruce Grobbelaar to his lawyers so they can prepare the Zimbabwean goalkeeper's defense against match-fixing allegations, the police decided Monday.

The decision came shortly after Grobbelaar's attorneys complained that the police had ordered the Football Association to withhold the evidence against the former Liverpool player.

"We have been in touch with the FA and all the information can now be passed to Mr. Grobbelaar and his solicitors," said the Hampshire detective chief superintendent, Roger Hoddinott.

The move was welcomed by Grobbelaar's lawyer, David Hewitt.

The FA last week charged Grobbelaar with accepting bribes to throw matches by letting in goals. The police also are investigating the allegations, first made by The Sun newspaper. Grobbelaar, 37, who now plays for Southampton, denies the charges and is suing the paper for libel. He has until Nov. 28 to answer the FA charges.

The Sun has provided the FA and police with secret videotapes and tape recordings allegedly implicating Grobbelaar in the scandal.

Soccer: Focus Is on Club Cups

Reuters

LONDON — In keeping with the unrelenting nature of European soccer, the Continent's top players switch this week from last week's international championship matches to club cup competitions.

And with the European Cup Winners' Cup competition now in hibernation until the spring, only 16 matches in the Champions' League and UEFA Cup are being played.

The Champions' League reaches its penultimate round with nearly all the crucial issues still to be decided, while the UEFA Cup, which this season began with a record entry of 91 clubs, will be down to the final eight after the third round, which begins on Tuesday.

The Champions' League continues to capture most of the attention and after Wednesday's games a much clearer picture will emerge of the eight sides — the top two in each of the four qualifying groups — that will advance to the quarter-finals in March.

A series of tiebreakers are used to separate the teams should they finish level on points and there are a number of intriguing possibilities remaining, with none of the 16 teams, technically at least, yet eliminated from the competition.

Paris St. Germain is the only side assured of a place in the next stage of the Champions' League.

Ajax Amsterdam is almost certain to advance from Group D, irrespective of what happens on Wednesday. Bayern will advance from Group B if it ends PSG's 100 percent record on Wednesday and if Spartak Moscow draws with Dynamo Kiev in Moscow.

Three teams are chasing the qualifying berths in Group A, with Gothenburg leading the group with six points, followed by Barcelona with five and Manchester United with four. Galatasaray, with one point, is all but eliminated.

There will be a new UEFA Cup winner this season following the early elimination of Internazionale — and five past holders are still in contention: Bayer Leverkusen, Real Madrid, Juventus, Eintracht Frankfurt and Napoli.

Three superb third-round matches are set for Tuesday: Athletic Bilbao plays Parma, the Italian League leader; the Danish part-timers of Odense face the current Spanish League leader, Real Madrid; and Trabzonspor, which knocked out Aston Villa, the conquerors of Inter, faces Lazio.

Three other UEFA Cup games are scheduled for Thursday, with the former winners Eintracht Frankfurt and Napoli meeting in Germany, and Juventus, winner twice in the last five seasons, traveling to Admira Wacker in Austria.

Foreman and Ali Slated For Event in North Korea

Reuters

TOKYO — George Foreman, the world heavyweight boxing champion, and his former rival Muhammad Ali are slated to appear at a sports and culture festival in April in North Korea, a Japanese sports promoter said on Monday.

Foreman, 45, who on Nov. 5 stunned the sports world by recapturing his title from a fighter roughly half his age, is to participate in an event in Pyongyang organized jointly by the North Korean government and a Japanese professional wrestling group.

"Although Mr. Foreman's schedule will now depend on when he must defend his boxing title, he is slated to go to Pyongyang," said a spokesman for New Japan Professional Wrestling Corporation, co-sponsor of the event.

The spokesman said Ali, 52, would attend the festival as a special guest.

The two fighters will join a delegation of American and Japanese professional wrestlers in the first appearance by such athletes in the isolated Communist state.

North Korea said on Monday it would welcome foreign tourists during the event — a rarity for a country that sharply restricts tourism and closely controls tourists' movements.

Arkansas Got Respect and the Title, So Now What?

By William C. Rhoden

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — This time last year, members of the University of Arkansas men's basketball team set out on a noble mission: a quest for respect. This is hardly an original concept and actually one of the cheaper motivational gimmicks in athletics. But it works.

The Razorbacks believed in the cause and eagerly turned it into a crusade. No one gave the Razorbacks credit for being a smart, hard-working and immensely talented team. Even when Arkansas finally climbed to the top of the polls, a loss seemed to send them on a greater plummet than other teams.

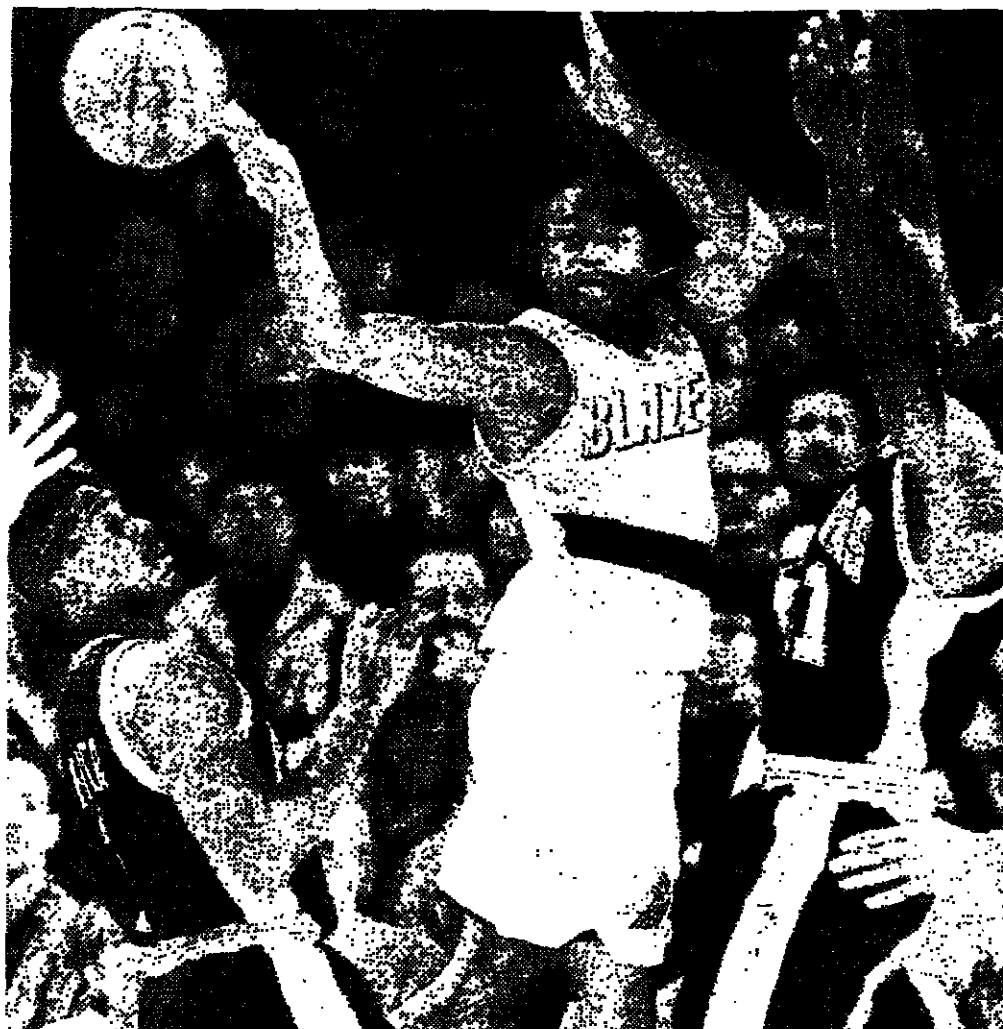
The call for respect was elevated from slogan to mantra.

Suddenly it all changed. The Razorbacks won a national championship on April 4. From then until now, Arkansas has been up to its neck in respect. Every minute, every hour, every day, the Razorbacks, Corliss Williamson in particular, have been under siege by TV stations, small, medium and large newspapers, and magazines. Everybody wants a piece of them.

As Williamson was led to what must have seemed like his hundredth interview recently, he smiled at the irony of a lesson learned: Be careful what you pray for, you just might get it.

"Last year we harped on not getting as much respect as we would if we won the national championship," said Williamson, who leads the Razorbacks in scoring.

"I guess this goes along with winning: interviews day in and day out," he said. "You can't really picture what it's going to be like. I mean, to be from Arkansas, playing for the Razorbacks, made it hard going places without being mobbed by autograph requests. After winning a national championship, everywhere you go, people seem



HOT BLAZER — James Robinson, passing over Detroit's Lindsey Hunter, poured in 24 points to lead the Trail Blazers to a 98-96 National Basketball Association victory.

to have magazines they want you to sign — at gas stations, at restaurants, wherever."

"Basically, your whole life is changed," Williamson continued. "You're living in a glass house. Whatever you do, whatever is going on in your life, people are watching you. You have to be more aware of what you're doing, where you're at and how you carry yourself."

"But if this is what respect

is," he laughed, "I'll be glad to keep it."

Keeping it is one thing, building on it something else. With all starters back from last year's team, Arkansas would seem to be well on its way. But repeating will not be an easy task. The Razorbacks will be tested early and often this season.

If Arkansas intends to build on last year's success, Williamson, a 6-foot-7-inch (2-meter)

power forward who became an indomitable inside force last season, will have to be more consistent this season.

Arkansas returns virtually an entire team, but does not return it whole. In fact, the roadblocks on the Razorbacks' path to a second national championship began the night they won their first when Williamson fractured a bone in his left wrist. The injury wasn't detected

until May; he wore a cast for most of the summer and missed summer competition.

The senior guard Clint McDaniels tore a ligament in his right thumb playing in a pickup game two weeks after winning the national championship and required surgery. The sophomore center Darrell Robinson underwent arthroscopic surgery in July. Then Corey Beck underwent arthroscopic knee surgery on his knee in September.

But there are more subtle distractions as well.

Last season no one asked Williamson about leaving school until the team left for the Final Four. Now hardly a day goes by without someone asking him.

"I'd like to shy away from that question," he said. "But it's a legitimate question and one that needs to be answered. The way I feel about it is that I want to live in the present. I'm trying to do what's best for this team."

When pressed, however, Williamson suggests that he already has a leg out of college.

"You can always look at the financial part of it," he said. "Being a college student it's not like you have a lot of money in your pockets — that's one reason I wouldn't mind going to the NBA."

"Also, just to be a man," he added. "Just to get out and explore life itself."

But for now, Williamson and Arkansas have their sights set on trying to defend their title.

"I don't know if it's going to be a straight highway for us," Williamson said. "There are going to be some hills, there will be a bumpy road. I prefer a bumpy road. That brings out the best in you. It's going to keep you on your toes and ready for anything. In the long run, it's going to make you a better team."

Be careful what you pray for, Corliss.

SIDELINES

Gibbs Quits as Oklahoma's Coach

NORMAN, Oklahoma (AP) — Gary Gibbs, unable to win championships at a school accustomed to success, resigned Monday as Oklahoma football coach, effective at the end of the season.

The Sooners (6-4) play No. 1 Nebraska on Friday to end their regular season and are set to play Brigham Young in the Copper Bowl on Dec. 29. In a statement, Gibbs said he had intended to make the announcement at the end of the season, but changed his mind because of widespread reports that he was leaving.

Gibbs is 44-21-2 in six seasons at Oklahoma, but his teams have never won the Big Eight championship or gone to the Orange Bowl. When Gibbs replaced Barry Switzer in June 1989, he took over a program that had been shaken by scandal that included NCAA probation and a shooting, rape and drug bust involving five Sooners players. Oklahoma won six national championships under Switzer and Bud Wilkinson.

For the Record

Red Run, the only horse to win the Grand National three times, is retiring from public life at age 29, his trainer, Ginger McCain, said on Monday. Red Run won the National in 1973, 1974 and 1977.

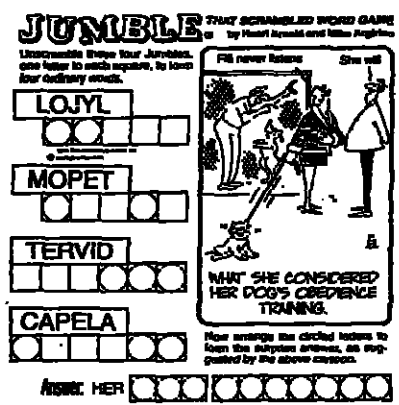
The Grey Cup, awarded to the Canadian Football League champion, could be headed to the United States, after Baltimore became the first U.S. franchise to advance to the title game on Sunday, beating Winnipeg 14-12 in the East Division final on Donald Igwebuike's 34-yard field goal. Baltimore will play British Columbia next Sunday in Vancouver.

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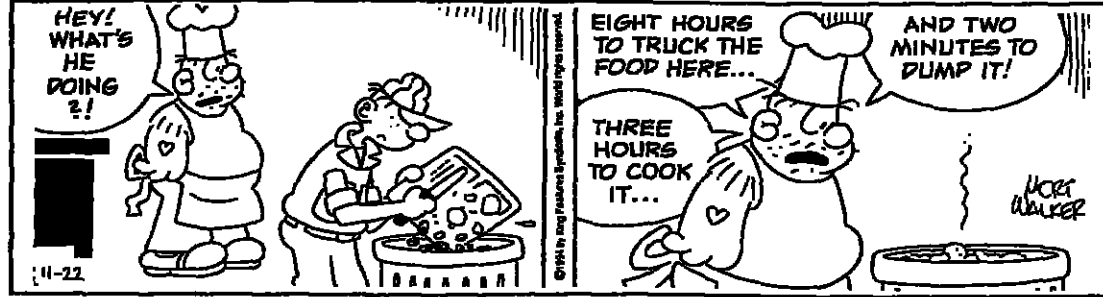
PEANUTS



GARFIELD



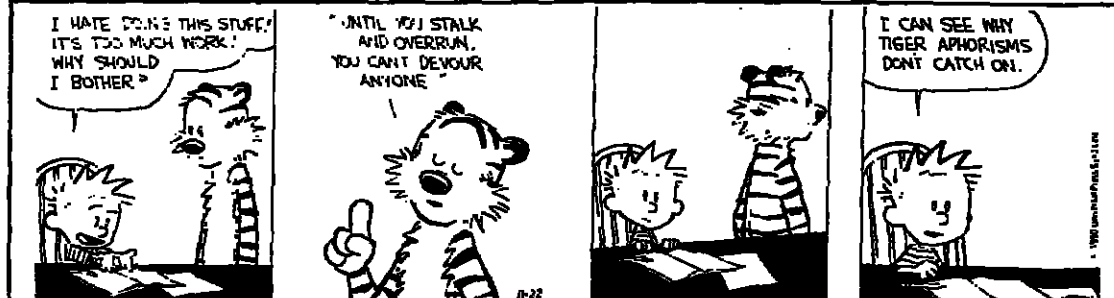
BEETLE BAILEY



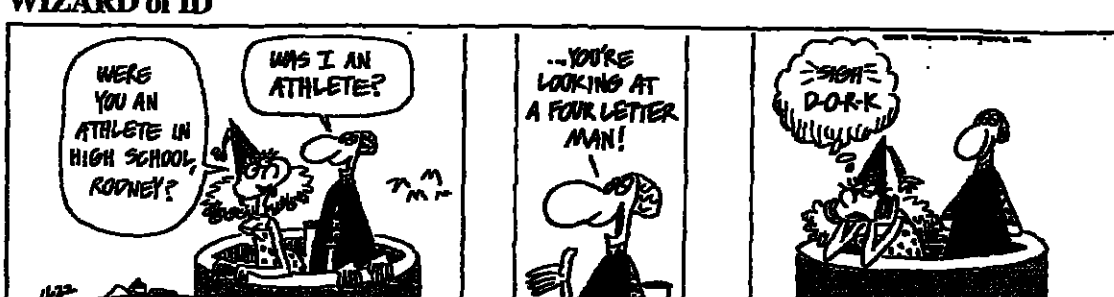
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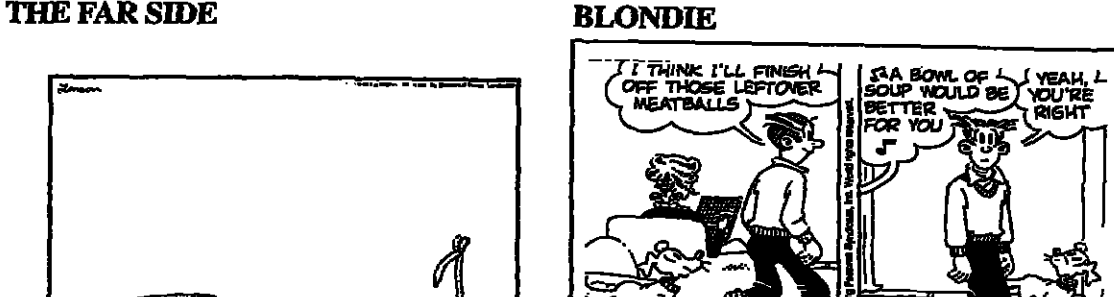
CALVIN AND HOBBES



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THE FAR SIDE



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